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ART. I.—THE PURITAN AND THE CAVALIER;

OR,

THE ELEMENTS OF AMERICAN COLONIAL SOCIETY.

AMONG ancient and modern nations, with the Grecians and Romans, with England, France, Prussia and Russia, notwithstanding the mixed basis of their early society, we are enabled to ascertain and define the permanency of those elements which formed and controlled their national character, and gave to each a unity which, in defiance of the many conflicts which convulsed the social fabric, was yet infused with a concentrated energy, all-sufficient to maintain that national organism which, in shaping and ruling the destiny of each government, directed a power that held some so long and now holds others in a common bond.

In the formation of their social structure there was a controlling agency that placed all opposition beneath its power. The Romans were constantly making accessions to the empire, and introducing foreign elements into their society, but it had no effect upon the principles of the government; for, whether under the republic or the empire, there was sufficient authority to reduce every newly-acquired social element to the supremacy of the constitution and the laws.

In England, the Saxons were submerged beneath the Norman conquest, and the Norman conqueror forced every element of opposition to yield to the dignity of his rude government. These examples show that a national unity

was established by the supremacy of the sword; in other words it was a military despotism, which would tolerate no opposition. It is not our purpose to analyze the elements of European civilization, ancient or modern; but, as the title of this paper indicates, to direct an inquiry into the early elements of American colonial society, in which it will be perceived that radical and irreconcilable differences existed and were constantly manifested in the different colonies, by their laws, their manners, their habits and customs, and their social and religious intercourse. This difference is attributable to the diverse character of the colonists. Europe was agitated to its very centre by conflicting principles of government; there were beginning to be developed mighty revolutions, and the people were divided among themselves, politically, socially and religiously. After many years the great American Revolution ensued, which, for the time being, suppressed all differences of sentiment in the political, social and religious communities that existed in the colonies. They were actuated by a common danger, a common sympathy, a common interest, which produced that national unity which bound them as one people in that contest for liberty which was consummated by the happy result of the war for independence against Great Britain. The North and South having fought side by side in behalf of liberty, were induced by a sense of mutual protection to enter into a confederate government, which resulted in the formation of a union of the States. But viewing the parties to this compact now, at the distance of nearly a century, we can clearly perceive that there existed, in the very beginning of our national career, principles inherited from our colonial settlements which were so discordant as to render it impossible for any power, less than a military despotism, to perpetuate the Union or unite the States for any considerable time under a common government; in other words, to preserve a national unity, such as has been maintained by the governments of other countries, in which the sword was the sole arbiter, and was subversive of every principle of free government. The truth of our inquiry will be manifested by an examination into the difference between the settlers in the Northern and Southern colonies; and never before were two people united under the same government, with habits, taste, character and principles, moral, social, political and religious, so diverse and incompatible. The Puritans were the first settlers of the Northern colonies; the

Cavaliers, with the Huguenots and the Covenanters, settled the Southern colonies. The Puritans, if designing to escape the thralldom of tyranny, were in their hearts tyrants; the Cavaliers, and those who sought with them a home in the Southern colonies, designed to escape from tyranny that they themselves might be free, and establish and dispense the principles of liberty to all who might live among them and live after them.

The true history of the Puritan character has not yet been written. Bancroft, the most voluminous writer of American history, though accurate in the statement of facts, is yet a partial and prejudiced historian, constantly exhibiting a sectional bias in behalf of the New England settlers. Webster, who never expressed an opinion that was not laudatory of the people among whom he lived, offered the powers of his vast intellect to extol in them virtues he knew they did not enjoy, and to conceal vices he knew they possessed; while even Story, a clear and calm jurist, threw around them, in captivating terms, excellencies of character existing only in the beauties of a falsely-bestowed rhetoric, which simple truth would have painted in its naked deformity. Thus has it been the habit of every New England writer and orator—among whom stands, conspicuously miserable, the unfortunate Everett—to mislead the public mind, by dwelling on a few prominent traits of Puritan character, which, if properly directed and well poised, are always good enough in themselves. They were firm and persistent in their views, but those views were wrong; they were industrious and economical, but it was an industry actuated by a sordid love of self and an economy born of the most parsimonious meanness. If they made sacrifices in behalf of independence, it was because they coveted the power of exercising the most intolerant despotism, a despotism which manacles the conscience and debases the sentiments. If they wished to worship God according to their own tenets, it was with that spirit which, in defiance of Christian charity, banishes freedom of thought, freedom of speech, freedom of conscience, in all that pertains to religious toleration.

I wish to make no charge, to indulge in no views that are not on the one hand historical, nor on the other just.

Look to their laws, their habits, their sentiments. In the language of Hume, the Puritans "maintained that they themselves were the only pure church; that their

principles and practices ought to be established by law, and that no others ought to be tolerated.*

If this assertion requires any proof to sustain the charge that they were bigoted, intolerant and persecuting, that while they demanded religious freedom for themselves they denied it to all others, the reader has but to refer to the truth of history as presented even by their most devoted advocates. The first union of the colonies of New England, which "made one as all," enacted in 1643, embracing the separate governments of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Hampshire, required that the affairs of the confederacy should be entrusted to commissioners, consisting of two from each colony. "Church membership was the only qualification required for the office."† Provision was made for the reception of new members into the league; but the people beyond the Piscataqua were not admitted, because "they ran a different course" from the Puritans, "both in their ministry and in their civil administration." The plantations of Providence also desired in vain to participate in the benefits of the union.‡ The request of Rhode Island was also rejected because it would not conform to Puritanism.§

In 1644, a feeble and abortive effort was made to extend the franchises of the Massachusetts company to those who were not church members, but it was rejected; for in the same year wrote Jeremy Taylor, in his famous argument for liberty, "Anabaptism is as much to be rooted out as anything that is the greatest pest and nuisance to the public interest."

Were they superstitious? Even the conservative jurist Story could not refuse acknowledging that "our forefathers were sincere believers in the reality of witchcraft."|| The only excuse he could find for them was that Mathew Hale, Lord Bacon and Blackstone entertained the same belief. It was a foolish and irreligious doctrine, no matter who believed it, and the Puritans, in the exercise of such belief, were not only unfit to be the guardians of human liberty, but undeserving the name of Christians.

The Plymouth settlers were originally from the north of England. During the reign of James I they fled with their pastor to Holland, in the year 1608. Their intolerance no religious subjects had excited the wrath of even the Eng-

* 6 Hume's Hist., 164.

† Bancroft, vol. i, 421.

‡ 2 Mass. State Papers, 1 file, No. 17.

§ Harron, ii, 90-100; Bancroft, i, 422.

|| Miscellanies, Ant. History and Influence of the Puritans.

lish tyrant, and their removal was a necessity. They supposed that the liberal and protestant spirit of the Dutch reformers would open the way for the development of their own violent and sectarian sentiments; in vain they endeavored to plant the seeds of an intolerant religion in Holland, which the violence and bigotry of James had prevented in England. The genius of the Dutch republic, as well as the sentiments of the Hollanders, were as much at war with the doctrines of the Puritans as with the persecutions of James; and they found an equally incompatible feeling between themselves and the Dutch, as that which had exiled them from their native land. They were crushed out in England, and fled from persecution; they were destined to be blasted, on the other hand, by the free principles of Holland. The only alternative left them was to seek, not an asylum, for they might have been protected in Amsterdam or Leyden, had they been satisfied with protection—but to seek a home, where they would be uninterrupted in their intolerant rule; and here we trace the true motive which impelled them to the shores of America. Their object was not religious, but political ascendancy; for before they landed, they resolved themselves into a political body, formed a constitution, and elected a governor. They exhibited at once the insincerity of their views, for they fell into the same abominations they pretended to avoid under the reign of James I. by embracing the same spirit of intolerance and tyranny in their laws and habits; made their religious creed subservient to their political purposes, and as soon as they were organized, they acted out the legitimate consequences of their early and constant principles.

It is disgusting to view the stupidity exhibited by New England writers in endeavoring to palliate a religious sect, who, for mere political and doctrinal purposes, enacted daily scenes of murder, by putting to death innocent people, even helpless women—by fraudulent accusations and iniquitous convictions—as witches. Story justly says, speaking of the executions for witchcraft: "Insanity could hardly devise more refinements in barbarity, or profligacy execute them with more malignant coolness. We find parents accusing their children, children their parents, and wives their husbands, of a crime which must bring them to the scaffold. We find innocent persons, misled by the hope of pardon, or wrought up to frenzy by the pretended sufferings of others, freely accusing themselves of the same

crime. We find gross perjury practised to procure condemnations, sometimes for self protection, and sometimes from utter recklessness of consequences. We find even religion itself made an instrument of vengeance. We find ministers of the gospel and judges of the land stimulating the work of persecution, until at last, in its progress, desolation reached their own firesides."* Such were the principles of the New England settlers, and they were acted out in Salem, in Charlestown, in Springfield, in Hartford, and in Boston.

Yet as late as the year 1828, Mr. Justice Story, with less judicial acumen and accuracy than Puritanical affectation, could say of them: "In simplicity of life, in godly sincerity, in temperance, in humility, and in patience, as well as in zeal, they seemed to belong to the apostolic age." If there is truth in the remark, it is that they belonged in spirit to those who persecuted the apostles, not to those who followed, and imitated "apostolic" examples. Story, it is true, points out some of their defects, but yet he covers them over with the flimsy apology that it was the spirit of the age—an excuse which would palliate the atrocities of the Goths and Vandals with equal force and justness.

But the learned jurist has fallen into another error, equally glaring, when speaking of the Puritans; he says: "The basis of their institutions was, from the first settlement, republican." This position is but feebly sustained by his own admission of the well-attested truth of history: "That the very efforts made in the colony to establish this uniformity of faith, afford striking proofs of the utter hopelessness of each attempt. Within ten years after their first landing, the whole colony was thrown into confusion by religious dissensions; by controversies about faith and about forms of church government; about the covenant of grace and the covenant of works; about liberty of conscience and exclusiveness of worship." He also admits that under the laws which confined political privileges to church members, that in the year 1676 not more than one-sixth of the qualified inhabitants were freemen.† It surely cannot be maintained, that a system of government which disfranchised five-sixths of the colony, by the influence of ecclesiastical power in state affairs was a "republican basis." This anti-republican principle of the necessity of a union

* Story's Lecture on the Puritans. 2 Hutch., 16-20.

† Story's Address. 3 Hutch., Collect., 484.

between church and state was a fundamental error, which, though New England was ultimately forced to abandon politically, has not even to this day been exploded in the body politic, a point we will notice in a subsequent part of this paper, for even Story, the most eminent of their apologists admits, "To this they clung as the ark of their safety."

We are forcibly struck with the intolerant, tyrannical and anti-republican habits and sentiments of these people, of whom the present inhabitants of New England are legitimate descendants, not only lineally but politically; refer, for example, to the obnoxious laws of Connecticut, which among others enacted: "No one shall be a freeman, or give a vote, unless he be converted, or a member in a free communion in one of the churches in this dominion. No food or lodging shall be afforded to a Quaker, Adamite, or other heretic. No one shall run on a Sabbath day, or walk in his garden, or elsewhere, except reverently to and from the church. No one shall travel, cook victuals, make beds, sweep houses, cut hair, or shave on the Sabbath day. No woman shall kiss her child on the Sabbath or fasting day;" and descending to the ordinary modes of dress, which were prescribed, under heavy penalties, and even to matters of conscience, those people who fled from persecution in their own country, would not permit the citizens to read the "common prayer."

It is proper to observe that the Puritans when they left England, were under a high excitement, provoking an acerbity of temper which rendered them harsh and tyrannical; and it was this temper thus excited that infused itself into their habits and laws. The Puritans were dissenters from the Church of Rome. Grahame, himself a Puritan in sentiment and feeling, justly remarks: "Of all the national churches of Europe, which, at the era of the Reformation, renounced the doctrine and revolted from the dominion of the see of Rome, there was none in which the origin of separation was so discreditable, or the proceedings to which it immediately gave rise so unreasonable and iniquitable, as the Church of England." Henry VIII, in that imperious and haughty disposition which prompted him to abolish the authority of the Church of Rome in his dominions, still regulated all his views and conduct in constructing a substitute for the abrogated system by the same spirit. The administration of inquisitorial oaths, and the infliction in various instances, of decapitation, torture,

and burning, for the crime of heresy during Henry's reign, demonstrate how fully he retained all the offensive principles of the Romish see, which he, in a large degree, infused into his subjects, Protestant as they pretended to be. In the reign of Edward VI, the Catholic doctrines were expunged from the national creed, and the fundamental articles of the Protestant faith established by law. Here was the great political and ecclesiastical error of the Puritans—making religion the leading principle in the government. The ministers of Edward VI, in the hope of reconciling the English nation to the system they established, preserved not only the ecclesiastical constitution which Henry had retained, but as much of the ancient ceremonial rites as would gratify the taste of those who still hankered after the Catholic pageantry. They went still further; they imbibed, with the prevalent temper of the times, many of the intolerant doctrines and principles of the Romish Church, which diverted the mission of a true religion into an engine of tyranny and corruption. Grahame, perhaps, unintentionally admits, what every unprejudiced historian will acknowledge: "These sentiments, which were subsequently developed and ripened into the doctrines of the Puritans, had already taken possession of the minds of some of the English Protestants; but their operation was yet comparatively feeble." Here, then, we have the germ of Puritanical principles acknowledged by their ablest advocate; and with his assistance we will trace out the future development of that evil and destructive principle which the Puritans bore within their very hearts when they landed at Plymouth.

In the short reign of Edward VI, Bishop Hooper refused to be consecrated in his office, and determined to resist the superstitious habits appropriated by the church. His Puritan sentiments, however, yielded under the threats of persecution from Cranmer and Ridley. We pass over the fiery tests which Mary, the successor of Edward, inflicted on the Protestants. When Elizabeth was placed on the throne, the Puritans expected to accomplish their object of intertwining their doctrines with the constitution of the realm. They were, however, destined to disappointment; Elizabeth, though educated with her brother, and strongly tinctured with the Protestant faith, her sentiments inclined with manifest bias in favor of the rites, discipline and doctrines of the Catholic Church. She publicly thanked one of her chaplains for preaching in defence of the Real

Presence. She desired to make the clergy priests, and would have interdicted them from marriage, had she not been restrained by the influence of Burleigh. Against the remonstrance of churchmen and Puritans, among whom, by this time, a wide breach existed, she restored King Edward's constitutions, with no other alteration than the omission of a few passages in the liturgy, which were offensive to the Catholics; and caused a law to be framed commanding, under penalties of fine, imprisonment and deprivation of ministerial office, a strict conformity of religious worship. This step compelled many of the ablest ministers to quit the church. The Puritans opposed it, but not from religious convictions, for in North America they practised, when they thought it would pander to their power, the same obnoxious system.

But the distinguished author, to whom I have alluded, Grahame, says: "The chief fruits of this increased severity were the enkindling of much additional zeal and fervor in the minds of the Puritans; the multiplication of their numbers by the powerful influence of sympathy with their courage, and compassion for their suffering, and a growing abhorrence among them of the order of bishops and the whole frame of a church, which to them was an organ of injustice and tyranny." It is a well known fact, that nearly all the Puritans of those times were at first opposed to a separation from the Church of England. They recognized in her the character of a true Christian church, but claimed for themselves indulgences, which they thought did not affect the substance of her constitutions. They were expelled from fellowship with the national church. The Puritan principles spread through the mass of society, embracing in their progress every variety of character. It is evident they were not expelled in the first instance on account of radical differences, or urged on by true piety in the formation of their sect. They had been severely used, it is true, but, as Grahame admits, "Some of them caught the spirit of their oppressors, and, in words, at least, retaliated the unchristian usage they underwent." A better acquaintance with the transatlantic Puritans would have satisfied the author, who was in all respects a conscientious man, that they "caught the spirit of their oppressors" in *acts* of bloody tyranny, as well as "words." It was with the Puritans a mere matter of political power that induced the separation from the Church of England, and all history illustrates the

evil passion to which they fell a victim. The unholy admixture of matters of church and state; the grasping after power, on the part of religious bodies, invariably gives rise to violence and persecution; and the Puritans, after escaping from England to avoid persecutions for conscience sake, creates in us no surprise, by falling into the same course in America. They were after power, and they placed no restraint upon conscience to obtain it. As a political party, they began to acquire some strength in the House of Commons; but they were put down by Elizabeth; if they had only been a political party, they would have done much to abate the rigor of the Crown, and not only to advance free principles, but, in all probability, they would have overthrown the Established Church, for which latter purpose the Roman Catholics would have united with them; but the moment they urged religion as their plea, that moment they became not only impotent at home, but exhibited a corruption which they transmitted from sire to son, as ineradicable and destructive in moral delineation as the facial demarcation of the Israelites. The foregoing brief allusion to the sentiments of the Puritans, in their rise and progress in Europe, has been made to show that the character and sentiments they exhibited in America were such as marked the course of tyranny in Europe; that they were acting out their true character in New England, and, above all, to show that which must be manifest to those acquainted with their character, that the Puritan of the nineteenth century is the direct descendant of the Puritan of the seventeenth century, the heir apparent of all his vices, in religion and politics, and utterly unfit for civil liberty.

Dr. Robertson, a meagre historian, though one of the few writers who formed a just estimate of the Puritan character, says of them: "Some of their number, retaining a high veneration for the ritual of the English Church, were so much offended at the total abolition of it, that they withdrew from communion with the newly instituted church, and assembled separately for the worship of God. With an inconsistency of which there are such flagrant instances among Christians of every denomination, that it cannot be imputed as a reproach peculiar to any sect, the very men who had themselves fled from persecution became persecutors; and had recourse, in order to enforce their own opinions, to the same unhallowed weapons

against the employment of which they had lately remonstrated with so much violence."

It is a matter of history, which, though denied by Grahame and others, is fully authenticated by Robertson, that as soon as they received their charter from Charles, they at once placed a fraudulent construction, without regard to the sentiments of the monarch, and in contempt of the laws of England, with which the charter required that their acts should conform. They at once adopted a form of policy, not only inconsistent with their chartered rights, but utterly opposed to the principles by which they professed, in their petition to the king, to be actuated. As Robertson says, "They united together in a religious society, by a solemn covenant with God and with one another, and in strict conformity, as they imagined, to the rules of Scripture. They elected a pastor, a teacher and an elder, whom they set apart, by the imposition of the hands of the brethren. All who were that day admitted members of the church signified their assent to a confession of faith, drawn up by their teacher, and gave an account of the foundation of their own hopes as Christians; and it was declared that no person should hereafter be received into communion until he gave satisfaction to the church with respect to his faith and sanctity. The form of public worship which they instituted was without a liturgy, disencumbered of every superfluous ceremony, and reduced to the lowest standard of Calvinistic simplicity." It is difficult to reconcile this course with a conformity to the charter, though Grahame detects no violation thereof, yet he confesses that they were bound to conform to the laws of England; and he could not deny that those laws prescribed certain forms of worship and articles of faith, which were rejected by the Pilgrims.

In a highly cultivated community, penal laws denote the sentiments of the legislators; among a rude and violent people, their penal statutes indicate the condition of society. From the strict and severe character of the laws of New England, and the cruel manner of their enforcement, it is evident that they were a rough, coarse and violent people, if there was a necessity for such laws; if there was no such necessity, they are then citable to the historic criticism of being heartless tyrants. It is clearly to be deduced from their history, that the condition of their society demanded rigorous laws, and that they were enforced with a tyrannical spirit, which, as is most always

the case, fell with greater severity on the most deserving. Notice in this respect the trial of Mrs. Hutchinson, and her banishment from the colony, on account of her religious opinions. Vane was forced to leave America, under the sway of the same intolerant spirit. For the same reasons Williams was banished; and Hooker forced to seek another home. Connecticut, Rhode Island and New Hampshire were settled chiefly by dissenters from the Massachusetts colony; but, notwithstanding this circumstance, they carried with them the same indomitable, Puritanical tyranny, which planted itself wherever they emigrated.

The Puritans still persisted, for political purposes, which they made auxiliary to the church, in persecuting persons for witchcraft. It is impossible to ascertain the numbers executed under this miserable pretence. Bancroft has been able to find but four, in one of which the prisoner was proved a murderess. Grahame, less partial and more accurate than Bancroft, speaks of twenty-eight persons capitally convicted in about fifteen months, nineteen of whom were hanged, and one for refusing to plead, was *pressed* to death, an engine of barbarity borrowed from Europe; also, of one hundred and fifty persons being in prison on the same charge, and impeachments of no less than two hundred others. Two sons of Governor Bradstreet, and others of eminence, had fled from the charge, while charges were preferred against Lady Phipps, the Governor's wife, and some of the nearest relatives of Dr. Increase Mather. The prominent men of the colony had countenanced this species of political inquisition. They felt that they had been dealing with others in a manner very different from that in which they were now reduced to desire that others should deal with them. The eyes of the prominent men were opening to the realities of the power of the populace; but instead of curing the evil by legislative enactment, a subterfuge was resorted to of allowing the arrests for witchcraft to proceed, and to punish the accusers for perjury, unless the evidence was overwhelming, and then the convicted persons were pardoned by the Governor. But this system of avoiding an error they had not the boldness to meet promptly, shows the moral imbecility of those people. And, still, as late as 1693, desiring to remedy an acknowledged evil, working like a cancer on the body politic, they were guilty of the stupendous folly of convoking an assembly of the most

eminent divines to take this matter into consideration. Here is again exhibited the supremacy of a religious oligarchy in the government, for this was done by order of the Governor. The folly of this convocation is fully exhibited by the report they made, and shows not only that political affairs were still under an ecclesiastical influence, but that such bodies were unfit to decide on matters of State. After solemn consideration, they pronounced as their deliberate judgment, "That the apparitions of persons afflicting others was *no proof of their being witches*," "and that it was by no means inconsistent with Scripture or reason that the devil should assume the shape of a good man, or even cause the real aspect of that man to produce impressions of pain on the bodies of persons bewitched." They, however, united in recommending to the government the rigorous prosecution of all persons accused of witchcraft. At the same time they decided on the validity of the customary evidence in a manner which made it almost impossible to procure a conviction.*

It is impossible to conceive a more foolish decision. What was considered the influence of witches was no evidence of their existence—yet they did exist; that all persons accused of witchcraft were to be rigorously prosecuted; yet the proof was to be such, that it was almost impossible to convict. Surely, if witchcraft was an existing evil, requiring *rigorous prosecution*, it could not be politic to place the proof so high as to render the prosecution abortive. We are reminded of the lines of Savage, which appear to have a striking application to this body of eminent divines:

"Here learning, blindness first, and then beguiled,
Looks dark as ignorance, as frenzy wild."

By degrees this folly of witchcraft wore out, but the influence it possessed over the minds of the people, in making the fundamental principles of legislation subservient to the dicta of the church, was not only uneradicated, but stamped for all time the political character of the Puritan.

In addition to the Blue Laws of Connecticut, may also be noticed some of the laws of New England. Quakers were banished, also Jesuits, and other Romish priests, and all persons were forbidden, under the heaviest penalties,

* Grahame, vol. i, 280.

to import any of that "cursed sect," the Quakers, or their writings into the colonies, while the Baptists were virtually banished from Massachusetts. All strangers were forbidden a residence in the colony, without the license of a magistrate. All persons were forbidden to run or walk to or from church, except reverently; kissing a woman on the streets was punished by flogging. Persons wearing apparel, which the grand jury should account disproportioned to their fortune, were to be admonished in the first instance, and, if contumacious, fined. A fine was imposed on a woman for cutting her hair short, or suffering it to hang loosely over her face. The selectmen assessed, in every family, the quantity of spinning which the young women were reckoned capable of producing, and enforced by fines the production of the requisite quantities. A male child above sixteen years of age, accused by his parents of rebellion against them, and general misconduct, incurred, conformably with the Mosaic code, the doom of capital punishment; and any person courting a maid without the sanction of her parents, was fined and imprisoned. The common and statute laws of England were entirely superseded by a law which announced that in cases where redress of wrongs or remedy of inconvenience was not provided by the ordinances or customary practice of the province, recourse should be had to the pages of Holy Writ.*

These laws indicate the character of the New England settlers, and fully sustain the views we have submitted in reference to their incapacity to legislate for freemen. They had not come to the New World in search of freedom. Like the tribes of Israel, they had fled from severe persecutions, but they had journeyed into a wilderness to establish a government for the purpose of enforcing religious tenets, which was to be done in the most rigorous and tyrannical spirit.

New York and Pennsylvania were settled by a different class of colonists, and in the progress of this paper it is proposed to notice the primary distinctions which existed among them and the settlers of that section known as New England, and the gradual manner in which they were blended into one people, with a common sympathy and a common interest.

But at this stage of the inquiry, we wish to contrast New

* Abridgement of the Ordinances of New England. Grahame, volume i, pp. 189-190.

England, the leading settlement of the North, with that great distinctive element in American colonial society which founded and formed the Southern colonies. Beginning with Virginia, the elder of the Southern constellation, the historian will find the elements of a moral, social and political structure, which has marked the most decided difference in the government, the jurisprudence, the religion and the domestic habits of the two people. A difference in opinion is found to exist among scholars and critics in reference to the character of the early settlers of Virginia, which, with the best lights of history before us, it is important to decide at this point.

It is not denied that the first emigration to Virginia came without political or religious cast, and without political or religious objects. They were mere adventurers, bold and hardy, and in search of gain. But by degrees it was peopled with a mixed community, the most prominent and influential of which were the supporters of loyalty in England, known as the Cavaliers. A prominent difference between the Cavalier element in Virginia and Puritanism in New England is manifested by the loyalty of the former and the disloyalty of the latter. The Puritans left home the bitter opponents of the Stuart reign, their purpose was to establish "a religious government, in opposition to that of England; they used the first moment that arrived to subvert the charter that Charles had granted to Massachusetts; they coincided with the Cromwellian party, and were strong adherents to the principles of the long parliament.* Virginia, true to her Cavalier sentiment, remained throughout loyally. Upon the restoration of the Stuarts, "the fires of loyalty blazed up" more brilliantly than ever.† The fundamental differences between the colonies of Massachusetts and Virginia were that the latter, proud of the constitution of their mother country, sought not to overthrow the government, and were not impelled to seek a new home for the purpose of establishing a government to pander to their own religious dogmas. They allowed affairs of state and affairs of religion to be administered as they were in England.

This is evident from their universal conformity to the Church of England; the manner in which they were petted by the crown, and the absence of any law militating against the Established Church. An elegant Virginia scholar and

* Graham, vol. i, p. 191.

† Bancroft, vol. ii, p. 196.

writer uses the following language: "No fact is better established than that the early English emigrants to Virginia, for the first half century* of her history, with here and there an exception, serving only to prove the general rule, were 'loyal subjects to both king and church.' It could not but be so; for the stringent laws of the colony from the beginning, with regard to church conformity, rendered it altogether an uninviting abode to persons of other sentiments."^{*}

Upon the breaking out of the civil war in England, and during the existence of the commonwealth, a heavy immigration tended to Virginia. This population was evidently of the Cavalier party, who gladly sought an asylum where their political as well as religious and social predilections were unrestrained. After the restoration of monarchy in England, it is probable an occasional Oliverian found his way to Virginia; but in the early period of the colony, both before and after the commonwealth, the Cavaliers formed the basis of Virginia colonial society; every inducement was held out to them in preference to any other class; every reason existed to think that they did come; the political and religious aspect of the colony coincided with their views. We find occasion to differ from a very accomplished writer, on this topic, who seems to reject the views above expressed, and maintains that no particular class settled the colony of Virginia, but that it was rather settled by the "great Anglo-Saxon family, whose swords were never drawn in vain, and before whom the hosts of the Cavaliers in the old world were driven as chaff before the wind."[†] It appears to us, that the author quoted, and the views herein expressed, will be reconciled if the author of the discourse on the Virginia Convention of 1776 had confined his remarks to the earlier colonial settlement, instead of that period belonging to the revolution.

If it was not the Cavalier who settled Virginia, why, until the period which ushered in the revolution, do we find such conformity and attachment to the Constitution and the Church of England? Was there any other class that could thus represent it? It was not the Covenanter, nor could it be the Huguenot, the latter coming over, to the number of three hundred, in 1710, after William was firmly fixed on the throne, and the former not being attached to the En-

* Rives' Life of Madison, vol. i, p. 77. Jefferson's Works, vol. i, p. 31.

† Grigsby's Address on the Virginia Convention of 1776.

glish Church. We are happy, however, to admit these classes into Virginia Colonial Society, and bear willing testimony to the influence they possessed. In addition to the evidence above adduced, may be added the fact, that a large number of the leaders of the revolution were known to be descended from those who had fought and died in behalf of Charles I. Among whom may be mentioned, Henry Washington, the first cousin of the grandfather of George Washington, who fought for the king at Bristol. The paternal ancestor of George Mason raised a company and fought against the soldiers of Cromwell.

Falkland, who was killed on the plains of Newbury, was a kinsman of Archibald Cay. The Lees, the Blouds, the Carters, the Randolphins, the Digges, the Byrds, with many other illustrious families, are known to have sprung from the Cavalier stock.*

Was it the descendants of such men, of whom Mr. Grigsby, whose attainments we admire, and whose authority we generally respect, could speak as "butterflies of the British aristocracy, who, unable to earn their bread at home, came over to the colony to feed on whatever crumbs they might gather in some petty offices, or from the race course, or from the gaming table?" They were not thus esteemed by Macaulay, the most admired writer and the severest critic of the present day, who says: "The very men, whose virtues and abilities would have done honor to any cause, ranged themselves on the side of the king."

Lord Nugent, the biographer of Hampden, who opposed the king and the Cavaliers, acknowledges that there were on the side of Charles, many "who were high-minded and steady friends of liberty."

It is an important point of history which we think now satisfactorily settled that, in the early days of the Virginia colony, the Cavalier formed the largest part of her population, and consequently the controlling element of her society, embracing the first fifty years of her existence after the colony had recovered from the disasters of the Jamestown settlements; the conclusion is inevitable that the habits, tastes, manners and government of the colony received its character from the Cavalier. Before noticing the direct influence of this element in Virginia society, it will elucidate the subject to catch the other streams of

* Rives' Life of Madison, vol. i, p. 81.

early liberty in the other Southern colonies, and, with their confluences, to trace the development of liberty and the peculiar mission performed by the Southern colonies. Consequently, let us extend the inquiry, though briefly, into the character of the colonial settlements of Maryland, the Carolinas, and Georgia.

Maryland, it is true, was colonized by Catholics, but to their lasting praise be it said, they were free from bigotry. The king, as is well known, was never bitter against the Catholics. This accounts for the fact—when the increasing divisions among the Protestants were spreading a general alarm over England—why many sought relief from controversy in the bosom of the Catholic Church, and is also a reason why those who came to Maryland were free from the intolerant religious spirit of the age. Among them may be classed Sir George Calvert, who was a man of enlarged benevolence and cultivated mind. In speaking of Maryland, Bancroft, with more than his accustomed liberality, has admitted that “A new government was erected on a foundation as extraordinary as its results were benevolent.” Lord Baltimore, also a Catholic, became interested in colonizing in America. He was anxious to form a settlement in a portion of Virginia; but after visiting the inhabited section of this colony, he at once discovered an antipathy to his religion. The country beyond the Potomac was untenanted by any but a few Indians. The cancelling of the Virginia patents had restored to Charles the full authority of his prerogative over the soil. It was a vast territory, and he determined to sever a province therefrom. Consequently, Calvert obtained a charter from that colony, afterward named—in honor of Henrietta Maria, the daughter of Henry IV, and wife of Charles I—Maryland. Calvert, to whom the charter was granted, was a man of moderation, sincere and honest, and disengaged from political and religious cliques. It is said the charter was written by the first Lord Baltimore, although it issued for the benefit of his son; the country being given to Lord Baltimore, his heirs and assigns. It was exceedingly liberal in its spirit and its terms; no provision was made or required in reference to the power of the king, which was a sufficient pledge of the intended liberties of the colony. It was held by the tenure of fealty, only paying a yearly rent of two Indian arrows, and a fifth of all gold and silver ore which might be found. The liberality of the charter secured to the emigrants an independent share in the legis-

lation of the colony; the laws of which were to be enacted with the consent of a majority of the freemen by their deputies. It was the earliest and most complete representative government ever established by letters patent from the crown. No preference was given to any sect, and equality in civil and religious rights assured to all; all monopolies were renounced; all present and future liege people of the English king, except such as were expressly forbidden, might immigrate with their families to this colony. The king reserved no right of superintendence over the colony, and covenanted that neither he nor his heirs, nor his successors, should ever set any imposition or tax upon the inhabitants of the province.* The Catholics had become an object of special hate in England, and had experienced from the government a progressive severity of punishment. Lord Baltimore had been a mild and kind hearted man; and in bringing with him to Maryland his small colony of Catholics, he exhibited a marked difference from the Puritans. He was the author of the charter, invented its liberal principles, and in the legislation which was adopted, not only indicated that excellent character which even the most bigoted Puritan historians accord to him, but showed to the world that, while flying with his band of two hundred followers from persecution, neither he nor they had the slightest temper to persecute. The colony rapidly increased in population and wealth, and its legislation was characterized by wisdom and virtue, and intent on diffusing a spirit of liberality in the community, protection was offered to persecuted Protestants. Even the relentless Puritans were invited by Lord Baltimore to immigrate to Maryland—showing that he not only designed protection to all, but exhibited to the inhabitants of Massachusetts a determination to have no government protection to one class of religionists, who should form the Constitution to suit their sectarian views, to the maltreatment and exclusion of all others, and as an offset to Puritanical legislation.

Massachusetts might at this day learn a lesson of pious liberality and honest legislation from even Catholic Maryland in 1649, when she placed on her statute book the wise law: "And whereas the enforcing of the conscience in matters of religion hath frequently fallen out to be of dangerous consequences in those commonwealths where it has been practiced, and for the more quiet and peaceable

* Bancroft, vol. i, chap. vii. Grabame, vol. i, b. iii.

government of this province, and the better to preserve mutual love and amity among the inhabitants no person within this province, professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall be anyways troubled, molested or discountenanced for his or her religion, or in the free exercise thereof." Here Maryland struck out the true spark of liberty; the design of her law was to protect freedom of conscience—a principle unknown to European politics. The civil liberty of the colony was confirmed by an equal union between all branches of the Government, and questions of religion left to the unbiased, unrestrained and unthreatened conscience.

While Puritanism in New England was enacting rigorous laws, fettering the conscience, burdening the faith and directing the industry of the field, the shop and the domicile, Maryland was effecting a grand political reform in all the industrial and social relations of life.

In 1642, Robert Vaughan, in behalf of the wish of the burgesses, desired that the House might be divided into two branches, and a negative secured to the representatives of the people. Before 1649 this change had taken place, and it was confirmed by statute. The prerogative of declaring martial law was limited to the camp and its precincts, and a perpetual law declared that no tax should be levied upon freemen of the province, except by the vote of their deputies in a general assembly.*

Virginia, fruitful Mother of States, may claim a kind and affectionate maternity of North Carolina; would that she could feel the same kindling glow of love for those Western States, who have provoked her disgust, by forgetting and betraying the instincts of a noble birth.

The earliest accounts we have of the settlement of the present State of North Carolina are, that it was explored by "Virginians born." A company was led by Roger Green, from Nansemond, or the country on Nansemond River, into the forest, and to the waters that flow into Albemarle Sound; this was in 1653. In 1656, Thomas Denance, the Speaker of the Assembly, formed the design of exploring the country still further South, and planting a settlement between Cape Hatteras and Cape Fear; what was the result of this settlement we have been unable to learn. It is difficult to conclude what motives induced an emigration from Virginia. Most prob-

* Bancroft, vol. i, p. 258.

ably a restless spirit, actuated by a love of gain, and not as Bancroft has intimated, a distrust of the government of Virginia, in reference to the enforcement of religious conformity. Such could never have been their dread. In 1662, the chief of the Yeopins granted to George Durant a large area of land, which still bears his name, and Sir William, in the year 1663, granted a large tract to George Cathmaid, as a reward for having established sixty-seven persons in Carolina. These plantations were chiefly on the north-east bank of the Chowan. Buckley was commissioned to establish a government over this region, but he was a large landholder in Carolina, and perhaps from motives of individual wealth, preferred establishing a separate government—severed the colony from the Old Dominion, and appointed William Drummond, a Scotch emigrant to Virginia, Governor of North Carolina, who was described as a man of popularity and prudence, and deeply imbued with the passion for popular liberty. He instituted a simple form of government, with the utmost freedom. This was the introduction of white people into North Carolina—plain, simple, honest people, with no ambition but to be free and happy. They were, however, soon disturbed in their sylvan retreat. A company of Barbadoes planters purchased from the Indians a tract of land thirty-two miles square, near Cape Fear River. They procured the appointment of Sir John Yeamans, the son of a Cavalier, as Governor of this territory, with a jurisdiction extending from Cape Fear River to the St. Matheo. This country was called Clarendon; we know but little of this man and his government, but regret that his instructions were: "Make things easy to the people of New England; from thence the greatest supplies are expected."

This settlement, which in 1666 contained a population of eight hundred souls, had begun to attract the attention of some of the English nobility, through the influence of Clarendon ignoring the claims of Virginia, and defying the rights of Spain, which had a garrison at St. Augustine, they obtained a charter, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, embracing all the land between twenty-five degrees and thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude—quite a large territory, then settled by less than a thousand white people; extending seven and a half degrees from north to south, and more than forty degrees from east to west, comprising all the territory of North and South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi,

Louisiana, Arkansas and a large portion of Mexico, as well as Florida. This wide domain, with bounteous soil and delightful climate, excited the cupidity of Ashley Cooper, the far-famed Earl of Shaftesbury, one of the most remarkable men of England, for genius, eloquence, sagacity and statesmanship, whenever he wished it, and meanness at all times. His influence on the mild and philosophic Locke, then unknown to fame, induced him to write for a people he never saw, whose interest he did not understand, a paper which reflects no credit on his understanding, though evidently correct in some of its principles, and is known in history as Locke's Constitution for Carolina. He was an enemy to democratic constitutions, and considered the principle of aristocracy in government the surest check to despotism. Locke was no advocate for democracy, or for a strong regal government, but he was incapable of forming a government upon republican principles, which would suit the minds of those who were too poor to appreciate the aristocratic principle that alone can render a republic permanent, if even that is sufficient.

The work of Shaftesbury, the statesman, and Locke, the philosopher, became the theme of extravagant praise in England. Borne, said it was "esteemed by all judicious persons without compare." Shaftesbury thought "empires will be ambitious of subjection to the noble government which deep wisdom has projected for Carolina." The constitutions were signed in March, 1670, and sent over to the governor, but the wisdom of philosophers and authors and statesmen, melted beneath the influence of plain old William Edmonson, and honest George Fox, who said of himself, "what I am in words, I am the same in life." * The people living in the lonely woods welcomed old George to their homes; the wife of the governor paddled him to the shore in her canoe, and he was proud to sleep on a mat, spread upon the floor, for it was the best that the executive mansion afforded in those primitive days. While it is not necessary to analyze the constitution of Locke, it is yet worthy of observation to notice its inaptitude for a small colony of men, scattered like hermits, amidst a primeval forest. The inhabitants looked for the largest liberty, untrammelled by theories of government, based upon artificial distinctions of society, and recognizing aristocratic principles, which could not be reduced to a practical operation. Government must be adapted to the special wants of a community. Among a plain, agricultural people, remote

from the busy haunts of men, untutored in the snares of complicated commercial and international intercourse, their wants are few, and the demands of legislation limited. As the demands of social life increase and expand, the machinery of government requires a corresponding expansion. The people of North Carolina were perhaps the first who manifested a spirit of independence; they refused to obey the demands of the Governor of Virginia, and their practical good sense repudiated the scholastic wisdom of Shaftesbury and Locke. Before the cabinet constitution had been expected, the North Carolinians had adopted a code with which they were satisfied. The records of the legislative history of North Carolina carry us back to the autumn of 1669, when the settlers were ignorant of the scheme of Shaftesbury; we find their laws suited to the character of the people, as from those simple laws we gain a deeper insight into their character; for laws always shine with a reflective power. They were not a commercial people, and consequently had not adopted the strictest rules for the recovery of debt. In the mercantile pursuits, delay is ruinous; in planting communities it is of less importance, consequently the law of the colony forbade the bringing of a suit against an emigrant debtor for five years. Marriage was made a civil contract, requiring only the consent of the parties before a magistrate, with witnesses—a principle of legislation retained to this day. New settlers were invited among them by an exemption from taxation until the second year of their residence. Every settler was entitled to bounty land, but to prevent fraud his title was withheld for two years. Political offices were not sought for emolument; the members of the legislature received no pay, and the expenses of the government held out no glittering bait for speculation, being defrayed by a fee of thirty pounds of tobacco on every law suit, and it is not probable that many suits were instituted at this period. The laws were re-enacted in 1715, and were valid in North Carolina for more than half a century. This plain and simple code had been but recently established, when the constitution prepared by Locke was forwarded to Albemarle, the colonial governor. A brief notice will show how utterly unsuited it was to the people. It created two orders of nobility; the lands were divided into five equal parts, one-fifth to be the inalienable property of the proprietaries, another the inalienable property of the nobility; the remaining three-fifths were reserved for the people, and might be held by lords of

manors who, though not hereditary legislators, like the nobility, exercised judicial powers in their baronial courts. The aristocracy would have degraded the cultivators of the soil, for tenants were limited to ten acres of land and politically disfranchised—the elective franchise being conferred on no less than fifty, and eligibility to parliament on no less than five hundred acres.

All executive powers are, in the highest appellate courts, vested with the proprietaries. Four estates were recognized; the proprietaries, the landgraves, the caciques, and the commons. In trials by jury the singular rule was adopted of deciding by the majority, and it was declared, "a base and vile thing to plead for money or reward." Every religion was tolerated, though the Church of England was declared to be the only true and orthodox religion; this was inserted against the wish of Locke. It can be readily imagined, how easy it was for Fox to divide and successfully defeat this complicated machinery of a prospective government. This was at a day when most of the statesmen, philosophers, and divines taught that no government could exist without being subordinated to a national religion, engrafted on the constitution and infused into the legislation and jurisprudence of the country. The planters of North Carolina could embrace no such doctrine; their practical sense rejected it; their practical piety required no such aid, and though prone to religious impressions, there was not, from the commencement of the settlement, a minister in the land till 1703, or a house of public worship till 1705. In the language of the first preacher who visited them, William Edmonson, they were "a tender people," and the first religious organization among them, the Society of Friends, was instituted in 1672, under his auspices, with the avowed purpose of refusing all connection between political and spiritual authority; and though introduced first by the Society of Friends into North Carolina, it is a fundamental point in American politics, of the greatest importance, and a feature of colonial history, which places that colony in the front rank of political and religious benefactors; and Fox, who returned to Virginia in 1672, could not only boast that he had found the people of North Carolina, "generally tender and open," among whom he had made "a little entrance for truth, but that the effort to introduce the constitution of Locke was entirely defeated."

There is much in the character of this colony to endear it to history. Men who had been induced by a hatred to

restraint to seek a far home among the savages, in the untouched solitude of the distant forest, were determined that the antiquated prejudices of Europe should find no countenance among them. Consequently, they raised the first standard of revolution in 1678, in opposition to the navigation act, and the pretensions of the proprietaries, which, under the lead of John Culpepper, produced the first manifesto ever uttered in the colonies, and finally resulted in open rebellion. They deposed and imprisoned the president and deputies of the proprietaries; set at nought the acts of parliament, and tranquilly organized a government. Culpepper, the leader in this insurrection, one of those "very ill men" who was devoted to liberty, proceeded to England to effect a compromise. Under the Statute 35, Henry VIII, for arraigning a colonist before an English jury, he was tried for treason; he protested, and was the first man in the colonies that started the doctrine that he ought to be tried in the colony where the offence was committed. Shaftesbury, who at the time courted every form of popular influence, appeared in his defence; with a clear sagacity he caught the true spirit of justice, and in procuring his acquittal, established, by the verdict of an English jury, a principle engrafted in the Declaration of Independence, which Culpepper had proclaimed in 1680. In the meantime, the temporary government, under Harvey Jenkins and Wilkinson, had been abandoned to the insurgents. Holden, an associate of Culpepper, was appointed receiver-general, and Durant, one of the traitors, was acting as judge. They (the proprietaries) wrote, "settle order among yourselves." "With heart and hand, to the best of our capacities and understanding, so far as is consonant with God's glory, and the advancement of His blessed truth," was the reply of the disciples of Fox and the adherents of Culpepper, and an amnesty, agreeable to the colonists, was the result. They had succeeded in their attempt to break down absolute laws, and were free from the constant turmoil of religious sects, who sought to fasten their creed upon the government. They did not trouble themselves about the tenets of James II, or William of Orange, or care for a papist party, or a high church party, and herein they escaped that fatal error, which has corrupted alike state and church in New England. They had no disputes about superstitious fooleries; they punished no one for conscience sake, and consequently, as Bancroft truly remarks: "North Carolina was settled by the freest of the free; by men to whom the

restraints of the other colonies were too severe. They had no vindictive passions; they were gentle in their temper, and enemies to violence and bloodshed; they felt the spirit of freedom; they understood and appreciated its heaven-impelled mission, and were free, because they had it without guarantees, and were unkindled by vindictive sectarian passions."*

In tracing the basis of the colonial society of the late Union, it is with equal pleasure and instruction that we pass in review the constituent elements of South Carolina, another sister star in the bright Southern galaxy, whose lustre has brightened with increasing years and accumulated toils and trials.

After the failure of the first French colonial settlement, and the initial attempt of Caligny to provide, in the wilderness of the New World, a retreat from the tyrannies of the Old, our attention is invited to the first settlement of the English on Ashley river. In 1584, Raleigh, when fighting the battles of the Huguenots, on the continent, had obtained a patent for such lands as he should discover unoccupied by any Christian prince. This expedition ultimately failed.

In 1663, after the efforts of Sir Robert Heath had proved abortive for settling all that region which stretched southward of Virginia from the thirty-sixth degree of north latitude, comprehending the territory of Louisiana, on the Mississippi, by the name of Carolina, Edward, Earl of Clarendon, and several associates, formed a plan for a colony in the same region. This settlement was chiefly effected by the agency of Clarendon; the Duke of Albemarle, famous for the energy he manifested in the restoration of the Stuarts; by Ashley Cooper, Craven, Colleton, the Berkleys (Lord John and Sir William), each an influential representative of the Cavaliers of that day. There was nothing sectarian or bigoted in these men. The charter states that the applicants were "excited by a laudable, pious zeal for the propagation of the gospel." Yet this was but a suggestion, especially among those distinguished noblemen, and if, in their wild and rollicking pursuits, they left religion to take care of itself, their habits and pursuits had the happy effect of precluding its mere pretences from the political arena. It was under the auspices of this colony that the foundation of the present city of Charleston was

* Bancroft, vol. i. Grahame, vol. i. Williamson, vols. i-ii. Martin, vol. i, 1 and 9. Briskell.

laid, and so free were the inhabitants of all the country from even party feeling and the taint of English acerbity, that we but quote from an elegant modern writer, now of the State of South Carolina, in saying: "Roundheads and Cavaliers alike sought refuge in Carolina, which, for a long time, remained a pet province of the proprietors. Liberty of conscience, which the charter preferred to guarantee, encouraged emigration. The hopes of avarice, the rigor of creditors, the fear of punishment and persecution, were equal incentives to the settlement of this favored but foreign region."*

In 1679, two vessels of French Protestants were brought to Carolina, at the expense of Charles II: these were, unquestionably the Huguenots. A few years later, the revocation of the Edict of Nantz, which deprived the unfortunate Huguenots of all security of life, liberty and fortune, except the means of a stealthy escape, witnessed a large immigration to Carolina of this honest, pious and self-sacrificing class of Christians. We have not the means of ascertaining the number of Huguenots which came to this colony. It was a general asylum of the French Protestants and some Calvinist refugees from other countries. From Languedoc on the Mediterranean, from Rochelle, and Saint-touge, and Bordeaux, the provinces on the Bay of Biscay, from St. Quintin, Poitiers, from the lovely valley of Tours, from St. Lo and Dieppe, those men and women, who escaped from a land where the profession of their religion was a felony, came, with softened and subdued hearts, with more than the virtues of the Puritan, and none of their bigotry, to a free and happy land, where toleration was a principle of moral as well as religious conviction. South Carolina was especially in these days a hospitable refuge for the oppressed of all classes. Churchmen and Dissenters were alike tempered by the allurements of equal immunities. The condition of Scotland, after the death of Shaftesbury, was exceedingly dangerous to religious toleration, on account of the effort to revive the tyranny of Lauderdale. A large number of Scotch noblemen entered into an association which contracted with the patentees of South Carolina for a large district, for the especial use of the Scottish exiles. This scheme was never fully completed. The colony under Lord Cardrass, which came to South Carolina, met with many difficulties. The lord himself returned;

* Simms' Hist. of S. C.

the others, foiled in their purpose of getting a separate grant, diffused themselves among the settlers, where they were protected. Emigrants followed from Switzerland, Germany and Holland; and the tastes and habits of the dwellers on the Seine and the Rhine, of the French Huguenot and German Palatine, were mingled in the flowery forest of this land of freedom. The Cavalier preserved his character, distinct from religious pursuits; the Calvinist preserved his piety, distinct from political parties.

In the beginning of the English settlements in South Carolina, the Cavalier element was predominant; but, as we have seen, the increasing tide of emigration from various parts of Europe, placed the Cavalier, politically, in the minority. In the struggle for popular power, the Cavaliers, the proud and haughty adherents of the throne, sided with the proprietaries, but they were ultimately voted down. In all the long and earnest contest carried on by the opponents of the Crown, there was no effort to fetter the liberty of conscience, no ecclesiastical contest for the establishment of religious doctrines. The Cavalier thought himself sufficiently free, under the protection of the Crown; the opposing party, made up of all classes, not directly under the immediate influence of the government, were for larger parliamentary powers in the home government, which they thought not inconsistent with due loyalty, but in conformity with charter privileges. They ultimately succeeded; the Cavalier was content, and the political affairs of the colony proceeded with but little interruption, when, in the course of years, the exactions of George III united all in a common cause. A Tory is scarcely mentioned in South Carolina history. It is a true and pleasant historical reflection that the Cavalier spirit in South Carolina, as in Virginia, formed a basis of honor, liberality of feeling and generous hospitality, marked by courtesy and high breeding, which, mingling in the former State with Calvinistic piety, in the latter, with the true devotion to the Established English Church, formed a basis of society, upon which the fabric of civil and religious liberty was erected, without tainting religion with politics, or circumscribing the scope of political and social rights by a spurious and fanatical religion.

In extending this view of the different elements of colonial society, we may again refer to some of the Northern colonies. For example, Pennsylvania, the early colonial settlement of which was commenced under the auspices of

a good but an unwise man, William Penn, who, it is well known, was a Quaker. It is not proposed to analyze the distinctive moral and religious tenets of this class of people. They have, with few exceptions, been mild and virtuous, and as a social and religious society, demeaned themselves with strict propriety. Penn was a mere visionary pretender at philosophy—in no sense a statesman. The very doctrines of Quakerism unfit its advocates for civil stations; destroy their capacity for government and the common details of legislation. It looks to mankind as one vast body of pure and sinless beings; it takes the world as the Bible would have it, not as it actually exists. The fundamental theory of Penn's government, as it is in truth the basis of Quakerism, is an absolute democracy. Its folly is a belief in the entire equality of man, with no distinction of moral, social or political worth or station. In their church government there was no individual authority—no distinction between laity and clergy in the church; in affairs of state no supremacy of authority. It is apparent that their doctrines oppose the supremacy of all governmental authority; "Every man has God in the conscience," taught the Quaker, but they forgot that every man would not act up to it. "I am a man," says every Quaker, and they refused obedience to man. Thus, though not intending it, they planted not only the seeds of the most plebian form of philosophy, but struck, in their innocent simplicity, at every form and feature of government. They obeyed, for a while, the law, but not because it was law; and, unloosing every anchor of the ship of state, they launched at once in mid-ocean, without chart or compass, and were overwhelmed by the fury of the winds and waves, which their own action aroused. Quakers could not be magistrates, even in a Quaker community. Thus we see its first fruits were to subvert their own authority. It was contended by the apostate Keith, under this very principle, that the king should send churchmen from England to govern them; to this, however, they could not consent. The colonial history of Pennsylvania presents more disquietude than any other—they differed among themselves; they jarred and quarrelled with their neighbors of Delaware, of New Jersey, of Maryland, and were only quieted after yielding the government to other hands. This they could not avoid, but yet they preserved, in the social organization, that tincture which tends to disorganization in every government, for they denied the true sanctity of

the law, and professed to obey, not as a citizen, but from obligations of conscience. We are far from advocating a disregard to the dictates of conscience, but the world proves that mankind will not regard it, or a nation obey it, in reference to government.

The most mixed population of the colonies was found to exist in Pennsylvania, consisting of English, Irish, Germans, Scotch, French, Swedes and Dutch. Unlike the Puritans, they compromised upon liberty of conscience, which caused their population to be filled up with subjects of every doctrine and whim and caprice. But there was little stability or uniformity among them as a people, until forced into a common effort by the great exigencies of the first war against England.

In the colonial settlement of New York, we find, also, many distinctive features which marked its people with a character peculiarly its own, and, in some respects, unlike any other in pursuit or habit.

It was originally called New Netherland; the country on the Hudson having been discovered by an agent of the Dutch East India Company, the right of possession was claimed for the United Provinces. It would have been supposed that the long and arduous struggle of the United Provinces had trained and fitted the Dutch for the purest and highest standard of civil and religious liberty; but it must be remembered the independence of Holland brought with it no elective privileges for the people; the municipal officers were either appointed by the stadtholder, or were self-elected, on the principle of close corporations.

The condition of the United Provinces had rendered them peculiarly a commercial people. The States were, in truth, the representatives of a fixed commercial aristocracy; its nature and its interest forced them to resist every tendency to popular innovations, as well as to seek commercial wealth, with an exclusive and selfish anxiety. Every political question was made to yield to this spirit. The division of parties extended to every question of domestic politics, to theology and national intercourse. Maurice, the embodiment of power in the stadtholdership, favored colonization in America; yet he was opposed by the aristocratic class, who feared it would lead to the increase of executive power. A violent struggle ensued, in which the Calvinists, with all the excitement of popular enthusiasm, united with the stadtholder in opposition to the Provincial States and the municipal authorities, who

were representing the commercial or aristocratic party. It was upon the success of this party, representing the commercial interest of the States, that ultimately produced the colonization of New York. This controversy was carried on with the most violent excesses, disguised under the veil of religious questions, the fruits of which are still remembered in the history of the imprisonment of Borneveld and Grotius, the latter the first political writer of his age.

The colony of Manhattan was ushered into life under the auspices of the Dutch West India Company, which consisted of a company of merchants who obtained a charter from the States general. This company, by means of its great wealth, became the ruling power in the central portion of the United Provinces. Its charter allowed the exclusive privilege to traffic, and plant colonies on the coast of Africa, from the Tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope; on the coast of America, from the Straits of Magellan to the remotest north. This company—a miniature nation of merchants—were invested with extensive, and in some instances, absolute authority. Five branches of the company were established in the principal cities of the Netherlands. The government of the board was entrusted to nineteen, only one of which was named by the States. It laid its own plans, and provided for its own protection. Their boats entered the waters of the northern colonies, and took possession of the country in the name of the company. Bancroft remarks: "The name of the Southern county and Cape of New Jersey still attest the presence of Cornelius Mey, who not only visited Manhattan, but entering the bay, and ascending the river of Delaware, known as the South river of the Dutch, took possession of the territory. On Timber creek, a stream that enters the Delaware a few miles below Camden, he built Fort Nassau. The country from the south shore of Delaware bay to New Holland or Cape Cod, became known as New Netherlands. This—1623—is the era of the permanent settlement of New York.

They commenced at once a system which looked to the establishment of commercial wealth, and regarded but little the means of its attainment, as is illustrated by the immediate seizure of Spanish vessels, and a constant depredation on Spanish commerce. This may have resulted from the relations existing between the United Provinces and Spain, yet they received neither authority or protection from the States general. But it indicates the spirit of the colonists; while

the profit that ensued may have calmed their conscience, as they were devoted, if not abandoned, to commercial gain. Some idea may be formed of the immense profit that accrued to the company, for we are informed that in the year 1628, the Spanish prizes taken by the chartered privateers on a single occasion were almost eighty fold more valuable than the whole amount of exports from New Netherlands for the four preceding seasons.

Forming as they did a company of merchant warriors, whose great purpose was commercial gain, by all means within their power, it is not difficult to conceive the true character of the early colonial settlers of the New Netherlands. In 1629, the States general exercised a special jurisdiction over the colony, by which they subjected the government of foreign conquests to a council of nine; and the college of nineteen, of which mention has been made, prescribed a charter of privileges for those who wished to colonize in New Netherlands. It is the earliest form of government to which New York was subjected, and is a curious document, illustrating not only the political institutions of the Dutch of that day, but is reflective of the character of the New York colony. We will make allusion to some of its provisions.

Every one was promised as much land as he could cultivate. He who planted a colony—in four years—of fifty souls, became lord of the manor, possessing, in absolute property, lands to the extent of sixteen miles in length; the width was not designated unless the lands were located on both sides of a river, then it was eight miles on each bank, extending as far into the interior as the situation might require. If cities grew up, their government was with the lord of the manor, who could exercise judicial power, though subject to appeal. A selfish spirit of monopoly was manifested by the college of nineteen, which was transmitted in full force to the colonists even after their independence, by which they would, by proscriptive laws, measure out to others the same restrictions under which they had suffered; the allusion is to the prohibition placed by the charter on the colonist, under penalty of exile, to manufacture any woollen, or linen, or cotton fabric. This charter had a baneful influence on the moral and political character of the settlers; it engendered a system of aggressive measures on the part of the directors and agents, which infest their political rulers to this day. They at once began to seize and occupy the most valuable portions of the terri-

tory, which was tolerated, for it was a system of plunder in which each man thought he had an opportunity for personal aggrandizement in lands. Their depredations on the sea had prepared the mind for such lawless pursuits on land. The monopoly system practised by the home government had trained them in every faculty of selfish and aggressive legislation. In a few years we find them in constant contention for lands with neighboring colonies, as well as the surrounding Indians, which brought on the first contest in New York with the Aborigines, known as the war between the Dutch and Algonquins.

It is a striking fact in the history of this colony that they were, at the first, clamorous for free trade, which the department at Amsterdam strenuously refused. In 1648 the colony succeeded, and Manhattan, now New York, began to flourish. But the inhabitants, true to the instincts they brought from Holland, saw that a monopoly like that which had made the commercial prosperity of Amsterdam, was necessary to build up the City of New York.

In 1653, a struggle for popular power ensued between the colony and the fatherland. A remonstrance was sent to the States general of the United Provinces, drafted by George Baxter. It acknowledged the States general as their liege Lords, but contended that their "rights and privileges ought to be in harmony with those of the fatherland, for we are a member of the State, and not a subjugated people. We have come together from various parts of the world, and are a blended community of various lineage; we have, at our own expense, exchanged our native lands for the protection of the United Provinces; we, who have transformed the wilderness into fruitful farms, demand that no new laws shall be enacted but with the consent of the people; that none shall be appointed to office but with the approbation of the people."*

This is an interesting portion of New York history. Stuyvesant, the governor, treated the remonstrance with great contempt, saying to the colonists: "We derive our authority from God and the West India Company, not from the pleasure of a few ignorant subjects." This contest, however, was soon merged into one of a different character. Disputes about lands brought about a quarrel with England, which resulted in the conquest of New Netherlands. It was one of comparative ease. The colony disliked the

* Albany Records, ix, 28-33.

government of the West India Company: they had no regard for the colony, and the present States of New York and New Jersey were transferred to the British crown. It was an important era in their colonial history, which produced some modification of character by the introduction of the English; but it remains to be seen whether it was an improvement upon the old Dutch stock. In reference to New Jersey, named in honor of Carteret, who fixed the boundaries, it is enough to say that we fully agree with Bancroft, the New England historian, of the history of America, that "its moral character was moulded by New England Puritans and English Quakers," though we are not willing to add, as he does, "and Dissenters from Scotland." But it is pertinent to the subject to continue our reflections on the influence of the conquest on New York. New Netherlands was afterward reconquered from the English, and had it remained in the possession of the Dutch until the Revolutionary war, the moral, social, political and religious cast of the people would have been different.

After the conquest of New York by the English, the population began to assume a more mixed character, of Dutch and English. These differences in origin produced distinct classes, with no assimilation for each other. Here the stern Dissenters opposed the churchmen; and among the Dutch, the larger portion of them of the humbler class of people, had but little association with proud Englishmen, or, as they styled them, "gentlemen of figure." A political feud at once ensued; from the first, feudal distinctions had existed among the emigrants from Holland. Leister, in assuming power, rested chiefly for his support upon the uneducated classes of the Dutch, while he was bitterly opposed by the English Dissenters. Leister, the acting Governor of New York, with his son-in-law, Wilborne, fell victims to party spirit, and in May, 1691, were led to the gallows. Leister was succeeded by Fletcher, a covetous and passionate man, whose fickleness and feeble judgment forced the colonist into more decided resistance to the royal government, though they were not at the time—1692—disloyal to the throne. They were more distracted upon religious questions, which had become entangled with secular affairs, than on politics, which, complicated one with the other, had assumed an aggravated form. The desire for aggrandizement in trade, and the extension of its territorial limits, excited the passions of the New York settlers, and they began to cast a longing eye on the Canadian

shores. Among themselves, internal dissensions rankled in their bosoms. In matters of religion, the English inhabitants, though partially admitting the Anglican establishment, they yet bordered on the Puritanism of New England. They were subject to that influence which shaped the political dissensions of the day in obedience to the passions of religious sects. The Presbyterians had never enjoyed political power in the colony, having been introduced therein under compacts with the Dutch government.

The original settlers from Holland were Calvinists, but their church organization was less popular than the New England system, probably because they assimilated in many points with the ecclesiastical polity of episcopacy. When the colony became English, the conquest was made by men devoted to the English church, and this influence at once predominated in the legislation of the colony. In 1695 it was ascertained that not a tenth part of the population adhered to the Episcopal Church; the public spirit demanded toleration, which the church and the government were unwilling to allow, until the voice of the Dissenters became too potent to be hushed. Here we detect the seeds of religious dissension; at the same time, the aggressive spirit of the government, enforcing the arts of trade, which had been frequently violated by the connivance of the very men appointed to execute them, engendered constant bickering as well as incitements to fraud.

The acts of trade were despotic, infringing the rights of humanity, and were everywhere constantly evaded. The City of New York, made up in part of aliens in birth and feeling to the English authority, united by no bonds of common history, kindred or tongue, explains why the laws were not obeyed. And no voice of conscience declared their violation a moral offence; respect for them being only the calculation of gain, a species of moral deformity congenital with Yankee character, which has not abated with advancing years, even to the loud professions of Christian obligations.

The civil and domestic state of New York, before and after the British Revolution, exhibited almost constant dissensions, which stamped the political and social relations of the colony with a permanent character, from which the State has not recovered. How could it be otherwise, when, before and since the American Revolution, she received a constant augmentation to her population from every source of emigration that could be engendered by

poverty, oppression, ignorance and crime in every kingdom of Europe? Here was a population of every lineage and language, of every religion and every propensity, bound by no sympathy, impelled by no common love for the laws of the land, actuated by no principle but the sordid love of gain.

New York, from its various admixture of human beings of every country, was constantly excited by civil and corroding passions. She was not exempt from the sectarian quarrels which poisoned the elements of every other Northern colony. The Episcopalians, though the least numerous class, enjoyed a charter of incorporation from the Provincial Assembly. The ministers of their church had a salary collected by a tax on all the inhabitants. They were so elated by the position they occupied, that they had the presumption to declare that the province was subject to the ecclesiastical dominion of the Church of England, and that theirs was the *religion of the State*. This position was a prominent cause of the heated animosities that fastened themselves upon the society of the colony. The pretensions of the Episcopalians excited much jealousy among the Dissenters, and gave rise to the most passionate disputes. In the course of a few years the Episcopalians became more numerous, and declared themselves subject to the Bishop of London, who established a commissary department for the church at the City of New York. Their grasping disposition was still further manifested by an attempt to engross the privilege of solemnizing all marriages in the province; but this was successfully resisted by the popular voice, though the feud it engendered continued long and bitter, and left its mark upon the ecclesiastical policy of the church, as well as its stamp upon the social status. We have the authority of an eminent historian, writing of the condition of affairs at the beginning of the eighteenth century, for saying: "In affairs relating to religion, Lord Cornbury was equally imperious," as had been the course of legislation upon matters belonging strictly to the government, "disputing generally the right of either minister or schoolmaster to exercise his vocation without his license." *

In addition to the above remarks, it cannot escape the observation of those conversant with New York colonial history, that the political influence of the colony was ex-

* Bancroft, vol. iii, p. 62.

exercised in a manner tending greatly to enhance the depravity of the people, large numbers of whom, from the character of the emigration, were easily influenced and most grossly tampered with. It is well known that England at one time encouraged the transportation of felons to America, and, as early as the beginning of the last century, New York had become the recipient of a large portion of this class of people, where a fellow-feeling still induce them to linger. It is said by the best writer on American colonial history, speaking of New York: "Another obstruction to the colonization of this province by the free poor arose from the practice of many of the governors, who, in order to promote the royal interest in the assembly, were permitted to make large grants of land to their partisans and dependants, by whom it was again farmed out at exorbitant rates to the cultivators, or retained in a vacant and unproductive state, in the hope of a future rise in its value from the general progress of culture and population.*

Again, we are informed, "The governors were, many of them, land jobbers, bent on making their fortunes, and being invested with power to do this, they either engrossed for themselves, or patented away to their particular favorites, a very great portion of the whole province."† This is not only the clue to the large landed estates held in New York by dependants on the crown, but all right-minded men will at once perceive the corrupting influence that pervaded the government, and diffused its poison among the people, engendering a public malaria, which has not yet been dissipated from the political and social organization of that State. We turn with delight from the colonization of the Northern provinces to that of Georgia, the last colony that formed the original thirteen States of the late Union.

In looking to the Southern colonies, the truth of history sustains the view that they were founded by men whose prevailing motives and characteristics were zeal for the advancement of religious truth, without the aid of governmental policy, and for the security of political freedom; and they have been indebted for a prominent share of their success, not only to the character of the population which sought shelter from political and ecclesiastical tyranny, but to the character and qualifications of the leaders who pro-

* Grahame, vol. i, p. 459. † Winterbotham.

jected the different colonies. In this light, none will present a brighter biographic page than James Oglethorpe, the founder of the colony of Georgia, whose name stands in brilliant contrast with the minions of power who held evil sway over Massachusetts, New York, and other Northern provinces. Oglethorpe exhibited, in his purpose to colonize this province, not only a heroic mind but a merciful disposition. He was a member of the British Parliament—rich in varied learning and experience. An hereditary royalist, he had served with distinction in the British army; was present at the siege of Belgrade, and throughout the brilliant campaign on the Danube against the Turks. The benevolent mind of this man, while a member of Parliament, had been directed to the severe administration of the law, in reference to unfortunate debtors, who, with no crime attached to their name or lineage, had the misfortune to be poor. To him is due the honor, in the annals of legislative philanthropy, of being the first to redress the grievances of the debtor class, who were confined in jail, in England. In 1728, he brought the subject before Parliament, and, as commissioner for inquiring into the condition of those imprisoned for debt, was the means of relieving thousands of good citizens from a cruel confinement. He planned for them and the persecuted Protestants an asylum in America. He found not only patrons but ready associates for this philanthropic purpose. In 1732, George II granted, at his request, a charter, by which the country between the Savannah and the Alatomaha, and from the head springs of those rivers due west to the Pacific, was erected into the Province of Georgia. It was placed under the guardianship of a corporation for twenty-one years, "in trust for the poor." The common seal of the corporation bore the striking impress of a group of silk worms on one side, with the motto, so fully expressive of the disinterested character of the progenitors of this colony and its early settlers, "*Non sibi sed aliis.*" The other side of the seal represented two figures reposing on urns, having between them the genius of "Georgia Augusta," with a cap of liberty on her head, a spear in one hand, and the horn of plenty in the other—just and true emblems; for notwithstanding that all legislative, executive and judicial powers were placed for twenty-one years exclusively in trustees, or their common council, they were men of benevolence and wisdom, and everything proceeded with the utmost harmony, while the *cornucopia* was constantly replenished by the genial clime and sturdy

industry of the colonists. Here was emphatically a Cavalier colony. At the head of the council stood Shaftesbury, fourth earl of the name, with others of kindred feeling and sympathies. The king expressed and exhibited great interest in the welfare of the colony that was named in compliment to his majesty, and Parliament continued its benefactions. The voice of emigration broke over the Highlands of Scotland; and a company of Gaelic mountaineers, bearing the blood and names of many of the loyalists who had fought under the banner of the Stuarts, embarked for America, and established New Inverness in Darien. But the most celebrated of the leaders of this colonial enterprise was Oglethorpe, who illustrated, throughout a life prolonged to nearly a century, the crowd of noble virtues and gentle charities that clustered round the heart of a true Cavalier. In February, 1736, he collected a new company of three hundred emigrants, and under his special care they were conducted to America. Among the group was an interesting company of Moravians, a class described as having a faith above fear; "whose wives and children even were not afraid to die;" whose simple and solemn service seemed to revive the primitive "assemblies where form and State were not, but Paul the tent maker, or Peter the fisherman, presided with the demonstration of the spirit;" and among them were John and Charles Wesley. They desired to make Georgia a religious colony, having no theory of ecclesiastical legislation, but acknowledging in religion a heaven-born freedom which converts and trains the heart to that feeling which quickens the sentiments with a true and burning piety, unscathed by the evil passions of political preachers and quack moralists in legislation.

The emigrants that Oglethorpe induced to the Georgia colony were mostly poor, yet they were honest and religious, but in their religion was mixed no acerbity or selfishness. They were Pilgrims, but far superior to those familiarly known as the "Pilgrim Fathers" who settled at Plymouth. The charter for the company was their constitution and laws. It is not proposed to analyze its features; it worked badly in some respects, but it shows the character of the governors and legislators, who were styled "Trustees." The purpose of this charter was to provide a place of comfort, alike for the poor of England and such Protestants as deemed themselves oppressed, but, unlike the New England settlers, no creed was required, either for

political or ecclesiastical purposes. It also embraced the design of cultivating silk, wine, and such drugs as would flourish in this soil and climate; and to relieve the mother country of an overburdened population. The trustees were all men of education; of high birth and station; and in the discharge of their duties acquitted themselves in obedience to the high moral intent of the project.

In a politico-economical sense, the charter failed, though it lasted about thirty years, while the constitution of Penn lasted but a twelve month, and the constitution given by the Duke of York to the colony which bore his name failed within eight years. But if, in a financial view, the policy failed, and was given up as soon as it was discovered that the cultivation of the grape, the drugs and the silk were not adapted to the colony, it was, nevertheless, a successful effort at planting a colony of enlightened and liberal people, who nursed and nurtured the seeds of liberty in bosoms warmed by the purest principles.

The trustees attempted to interdict the use of rum, but they soon ascertained that to be a species of legislation unwise, and is illy adapted to the principles of liberal government, it being impossible to legislate a people into any system of morals.

Another obnoxious restriction was in reference to African slavery, which was absolutely forbid. But it must be remembered that, in nearly every colony, legislation was directed against it. Virginia, during her colonial existence passed twenty-three acts imposing duties on imported slaves, and Madison truly said that "the British government constantly checked the attempts of Virginia to put a stop to this infernal traffic."*. We need not pause to review the errors of Madison's opinion as to this "infernal traffic"—himself a large slaveholder. The trustees had tried the system of white labor, and it was ascertained to be a failure; the planters had petitioned for the importation, and Germans and Welsh had been brought over, but they were insufficient. Stern experience is the true teacher of nations and of governments, and they alone are wise who detect and embrace the necessities she points out for the welfare and happiness of man. The history of the introduction of negro slavery into Georgia is peculiarly interesting, and formed an epoch on which her fortunes turned, and her prosperity began to develop. The white slavery

* Madison Papers, iii, 1390.

which existed was proved to be a public as well as a private nuisance. The planters had petitioned the trustees to legalize African slavery, but the petition was refused. But, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the trustees, some few planters had introduced the negro, by hiring some for short periods, others for one hundred years. The question was referred to Parliament, and there the application was rejected; yet the planters were persistent. Whitfield advocated the introduction of slavery, as within God's providence, to the advantage of the negro, and absolutely essential to the well being of the colonies; the Moravians came over, and thought that slavery might be employed in a Christian spirit. Whitfield had purchased slaves, which he used in South Carolina—the profits of whom were expended to prevent penury and suffering at the Orphans' Asylum in Georgia, of which he was the manager—and wrote: "*I have entertained the opinion for a long time, that Georgia never can or will be a flourishing province without negroes are allowed.*" The trustees gave way. The question was again before Parliament, and in 1749, a committee, at the head of which was the Earl of Shaftesbury, was appointed to prepare an act, repealing all restrictions in reference to the introduction of negro slavery into the province of Georgia. Here is a decided instance of the introduction of slavery into one of the largest planting states from necessity as well as right, in which it was demanded by the planters as essential to the existence of the colony, and a necessity so strong that it bore down all opposition not only among the trustees, but in the British Parliament, while the Christian morality of the institution was sustained by the most pious in England and America.* The trustees thus acknowledging the introduction of negro slavery, were mindful of the moral and physical care of the slave, and enacted that a penalty of ten pounds should be paid by every master who should force or suffer his slave to work on the Sabbath, and the omission on the part of the master to oblige his slave to attend on the Lord's day for instruction in the Christian religion was made a misdemeanor, and punishable by a fine of not less than five pounds for each offence.

The permission to hold slaves had an immediate and happy effect in the colony. In 1750, the number of white persons in Georgia was only about fifteen hundred, but as

* Stephens' History of Georgia, vol. i, chap. 1. Bancroft, vol. iii.

soon as it was known that slavery was allowed, the president and assistants say in one of the official reports: "people from all parts of his majesty's dominions in America, as well as from Germany and Great Britain, are almost daily coming hither," showing conclusively that people were at that day thoroughly convinced not only of the moral, political and commercial necessity of slavery, but that there is no truth in the oft-repeated assertion that England forced slavery on the colonies. It is rather to be believed that she acquiesced in it from the great commercial advantages she enjoyed from the product of slave labor, and that her statesmen were satisfied, from experimental knowledge, that white labor was a failure in those provinces essentially devoted and adapted to the interest of the planter. In reference to the development of the resources of Georgia, we are informed that during seventeen years of the trustees' government but one vessel was loaded at Savannah with Georgia produce. But upon the introduction of negro labor an active and lucrative trade sprang up, from which the mother country drew a larger profit at the time than any other colony. Charles Harris and James Habersham were mercantile partners, and exercised vast influence in extending the commercial intercourse of the colony with European ports. A few years after the introduction of negro slavery, one of these merchants writes: "My present thoughts are that the colony never had a better appearance of thriving than now. There have been more vessels loaded here within these ten months than have been since the colony was settled." "Our exportations for a year past is an evident proof that if proper laboring hands could have been had years before, this colony before now would have demonstrated its utility to the mother country and the West India islands."*

It was not designed in this paper to enter with minuteness into American colonial history; but rather to trace some of the elementary principles in its society, and present to the reader the effect of those principles upon the political and social condition of the different States.

Whether design or accident, it appears that there was a difference in character and purpose between the Northern and Southern colonists. This difference may be traced to the political and religious condition of Europe, which formed distinct organizations in society. The reformation

* Letters of James Habersham.

of Luther and Calvin had incorporated the political and religious passions of a large portion of Europe in a mingled contest. Its advocates went abroad on the storm they had engendered, regardless of all conservative principles, and, in riding upon the whirlwind, they were eager to overthrow even consecrated principles, when standing in the way of their own selfishness. The age in which religious and political excitements were united, was passing away; and, under the commercial and political sympathies of the day, might have been extinguished but for that intense and mystic pretension to piety which the Puritan planted in New England, becoming more poisoned by the aversion borne in their religion to political theories, which, if they despised, they still rendered more malignant by connecting them with their devotional creed.

In the Southern colonies were men, it is true, who had been immersed in the billows of European revolution, but they were of that class and lineage who had looked upon reform for political and social purposes. They were the agitators of revolution chiefly against the corruptions of the English government, yet loyal to the crown. They were of that high-toned, honor-loving, brave class, consisting, for most part, of the Cavalier, who, if often wild and frolicsome, were yet true to the principles of liberty, educated and liberal; and if they ignored the violent religious tenets of the Puritan in all political struggles, it was because they knew religion itself is purer when, disconnected from political shackles, it relies upon its own spirit for protection and homage. It is a noticeable truth that, though the Southern colonies could present a larger number of talented ministers than the North, like Whitfield and the Wesleys in Georgia, Hevly, Gwatkin, Hewit and Bland in Virginia, they neither sought nor desired to share in moulding the political institutions of the colonies. We have viewed the old thirteen colonies in their separate and individual characteristics. It is obvious, in their aggregate character, that they presented two separate and distinct nationalities. The Southern colonies were agricultural, and, from climate and productions, necessarily the employers and owners of slaves. The Northern colonies, though possessed of a few slaves, were soon induced to part with them, not only on account of climate, but their more profitable pursuits were directed to commerce and manufactures. The institution of negro slavery, with the difference in taste, habits and occupation, exercised a controlling influence in drawing more distinctly

the lines of national demarcation. We will not repeat here an argument which we have made public, the object of which was to show that the fundamental error in the Constitution of the late United States was in binding together so many discordant elements, and two people—the North and the South—so different; for the folly of the old Union is now demonstrated, nor is it in the scope of the present paper to continue the view, that there were originally planted in the Northern and Southern colonies those discordant elements which the late Constitution was utterly inadequate to allay, and that the present rupture was an existing necessity, which would bear no delay, and will admit no reconciliation but in separate and distinct governments. The inherent congenital defect existing, not in the Constitution, which is sufficient *per se* for either section—certainly for the South—but the error being in blending such conflicting elements in a common Union, which, notwithstanding its apparent good effect for a number of years, a candid inquiry will demonstrate that the South has been the chief contributor to its wealth and power, and the constant loser from the very beginning of the Union, on account of the selfish, sectional and rapacious legislation of the North, strengthened by an occasional party vote from the South, which we trust the remnant of the late Whig party has lived to regret, and toward whom every true lover of the “Confederate States” will extend the bond of new union for the benefit of the Southern Union.

ART. II.—BÉRANGER.*

THESE three publications contain all the authentic works of Béranger. Some fugitive pieces, a few juvenile productions will, doubtless, be disinterred; some such, not embraced in these volumes, are known to be extant, but they are not such as either to enhance or depress the reputation of the poet; neither do they contribute in any considerable degree to explain the character of his genius, or to exhibit

*Oeuvres Complètes de P. J. De Béranger, en deux volumes. Paris, Perrotin, Libraire, 1843.

Oeuvres Complètes de P. J. De Béranger, contenant les Dix Chansons Nouvelles. Edition Elzevérienne, Paris, Perrotin, Libraire, MDCCCLVII.

Oeuvres Posthumes de Béranger. Dernières Chansons, 1834 à 1851. Ma Biographie, avec un appendice et un grand nombre de notes de Béranger, sur ses anciennes chansons. Paris, Perrotin, Libraire Editeur, MDCCCLVIII.

its gradual development. It is upon the contents of these volumes that his fame must rest; it is upon these that posterity must make up its verdict. Such, too, was the intention of the author. He destroyed, as nearly as he could, all his writings not here published. Few writers have left their works in such a state of completeness. Composing slowly and with difficulty, he never presented his songs to the public until he had put the finishing hand to them. When death came it did not find him engaged on any literary work. In the quietude and serenity of old age, with a mind still undimmed, with an imagination still warm and bright, with a judgment still correct, he gave his works a careful revision, and made his last song a formal, but mournful adieu to his friends, to his readers and to France. True to his resolution he wrote no more. His literary life might, thenceforward, be said to be ended. During the six years that he lived after this, it does not appear that he ever again appeared before the public.

Thomas Hood felicitated himself on the fact that he was born in London, saying that next to being a citizen of the world, the best thing was to be born a citizen of the world's greatest city. A similar sentiment was entertained by Béranger with regard to Paris; and he congratulated himself very much on having been born in the gay, brilliant, care-less capital of France. It was fortunate for the poet that he could find this ground for self-gratulation, for the other circumstances that attended his birth were not auspicious. From these circumstances the observer would, doubtless, have taken him for a candidate for the "Common Lot," with a flattering prospect of success. He was born at the house of his grandfather Champy, who was a tailor, in the rue Montorgueil, on the 19th day of August, 1780. Neither his father nor mother would seem to have been entitled to much respect or consideration. His father, after having been a provincial notary's clerk, went to Paris, where he was for some years book-keeper to a grocer. The tailor, Champy, in those days had, among his seven children, a lively, neat and gay daughter, about nineteen years of age, who passed by the grocer's every morning on her way to the shop where she worked as a dress-maker. Some acquaintance sprang up between her and the book-keeper, and they were married. It was not a marriage of interest; but it must not be taken on that account to have been a marriage of affection, for it seems to have been one of caprice. Béranger was then thirty years old. Perhaps he

had found the insipid life of a book-keeper somewhat enlivened every morning by the sight of the fair Parisian who daintily stepped before his open window, carrying in her hands her work and implements of industry down to her patron's house. He offered her his hand, and, as it was honorable, she married him. He seems, too, to have been fully worthy of her, for he was of good appearance, and quite gay and amiable.

But six months of married life convinced them both that they were unsuited to each other; and, to make short the bickerings of an unhappy alliance, they separated—he going to Belgium, while she, her gaiety not in the least impaired by her late experience, returned to the dress-maker's shop, glad, perhaps, that she should not see the book-keeper at his accustomed place. The poet was the fruit of this obscure and ill-starred match. It could not be supposed that the giddy young mother would give much attention to her child, which she, no doubt, considered an unwelcome visitor, and in no other light than as an encumbrance. She seems to have abandoned it as her husband had abandoned her; and, if it was sent to a nurse at Auxerre, we may attribute this honorable banishment from the family to a sense of propriety, if not to a feeling of kindness in the old tailor, who could easily foresee that if it remained at home it would be neglected. Speaking of his infancy, Béranger, when old, said (to reduce his glittering verse to homely prose) that, a child of Paris, he was lost in its dirt, but that, to regain him from the foundling hospital, his nurse had put her mark on his clothes. His vagrant nurse, however, in those days seemed inclined to let him perish. She, alone, showed some tenderness toward him; which was excited more by womanly commiseration and humanity than by her irregularly paid wages; and this tenderness grew apace until old man Champy fancied that he wanted a baby in the house, and sent for the young poet from his reluctant nurse.

The tailor, true to the precedents set him by nearly all preceding grandparents, indulged and spoiled the child in almost every possible way; the more so, perhaps, because it was frequently attacked with painful and dangerous maladies. His mother, now living to herself, sometimes came to see him, and would even sometimes take him home with her, or to balls, on excursions, or wherever else she found her amusements; but, beyond these occasional acts of kindness her natural tenderness never led her. Béranger was

sent to school as soon as he had arrived at a proper age. He did not seem to have much taste for learning, but, being a still and quiet child, much excelling in cutting paper and in carving miniature baskets out of cherry seeds, he was much commended for his good behavior. It was while at school, in his ninth year, that he witnessed from the roof of a house one of the most striking and illustrious scenes in the world's history—the taking of the Bastile; a scene which he remembered till his latest day with great distinctness.

He was not destined to be an eye-witness of the enormous massacres of the Reign of Terror, although he saw the early indications of them when the frightful mob of men and women poured through the streets of Paris, carrying the haggard and bloody heads of the guard of Venailles on their long pikes. It being thought best to remove him from the fast-accumulating horrors of that time, he was sent to a widowed aunt of his, who kept an inconsiderable inn at Peronne, with an explanatory note from his father. To this aunt he seemed to be quite unwelcome; she hesitated, and then declared that she could not take him. His grandfather was now paralyzed and poor; his father rejected him, and his mother had never cared anything about him. The child felt himself abandoned of all the world; but while this sorrowful thought dwelt in his mind, which trouble had lately been rapidly developing, the widow was gazing at him obliquely. He was a beautiful child; she had no children of her own; and as she gazed, her woman's heart relented; she promised to herself that she would be a mother to him—a promise which she faithfully kept.

This aunt and an old school-teacher continued the education of Béranger, so far as to teach him to read and write with some degree of correctness. Further instruction he never had, except in the principles of republicanism, in which he was carefully indoctrinated by his aunt, who was herself a discerning and an ardent Republican. Thus it was that this humble inn-keeper was unconsciously giving direction to that keen and pointed satire which should one day be feared, even by successive occupants of the throne. Living a peaceful life, the hearts of the poet and of his protectress were elated by the news of Republican victories, or were depressed by tidings of Republican reverses. They sat until late in the night talking of the war—the unequal war, as it seemed to the world then. Never was any country so threatened; the allies were marching on Paris, confi-

dent of success; the nation was divided; Royalists were in every department; whole provinces were in rebellion; the threat was made that Paris should be erased from the list of cities; the exchequer was exhausted; arms were deficient; the troops were mostly raw levies; but never was the human heart so exalted with the wish and the determination to succeed; and it was with this resolution, with every obstacle to surmount, that the actual rulers of France undertook to repel their invaders, to organize victory, to advance their country to that power and glory which it was soon to attain, and to teach anew the lesson, for all time to come, that a brave and determined people can never be subjugated by an outside force. These mighty struggles, which were witnessed with the most absorbing interest, even by the most obscure citizens of France, must have had a powerful effect upon the young and ardent mind of Béranger, who, while these things were transpiring, had arrived at that period of life when it became necessary to apply himself to some regular calling. Having first attempted to learn the goldsmith's trade, and becoming tired, he became, as his father had before him, the clerk of a provincial notary, who was an excellent and enlightened man, and gave to his clerk many advantages for cultivating his mind and repairing the defects of a limited education, of which the latter made good use. The notary was much attached to Béranger, whom he alone then seemed to comprehend. He said that Béranger would be remarked one day—a prophecy which was, no doubt, but little credited then, but which has been fully verified since.

From the notary's office, Béranger went to a printing office at Peronne, where, for two years, he tried with but little success to learn the art of printing. It must not be supposed that, during all these years, he gave no premonitions of that genius which afterward unfolded itself. Such there were, but they were slight. From the age of twelve years he made verses; but there are but few boys, of lively imagination, that do not make verses; and perhaps, as Jeffrey would have said, many make much better ones than did Béranger. His father had become intendant of the Countess de Bourmont; and pretended, although descended from a family of tavern keepers, to be of noble, if not of royal blood himself, and hearing of the Republican notions which had been instilled into the mind of his son, he paid a visit to Peronne, in 1795, in order to restore him to the true faith of Bourbonism. Though he supposed this to be

an easy task, he found it to be one of insurmountable difficulty. He had put off his teachings until it was too late. In despair, he told his sister that the boy was gangrened with Jacobinism. His sister suggested the use of the phrase "nourished with republicanism," instead of "gangrened with Jacobinism;" but the former book-keeper declined to accept the proposed amendment, and told his sister that her republic had not six months to live; that the legitimate master of the Bérangers, Louis XVIII, King of France and Navarre, was coming to take possession of his throne, when he, Béranger, would show his title to nobility and have his son made a page to his majesty; all which visionary notions were sufficiently derided by the sturdy republican keeper of the inn. As for the boy, he seemed much more inclined to sing the Marseillaise than to become a willing applicant for the position of a page to royalty.

A short time after this lively colloquy, Béranger, with many tears, left his aunt to go to Paris, to join his father, who, having by some means attained either money or credit, had set up for a banker and desired the assistance of his son in his new business. Here the young Béranger made great progress as a financier, acquiring a wonderful facility in adding up columns of figures, and great sagacity in other departments of the calling. The associates of his father, and consequently of himself, were scheming royalists; but he still maintained his staunch republicanism, of which he made no secret. The fanciful plans of his father and his co-workers afforded him an opportunity of making some epigrams, which, while they stung, amused the royalists who collected at the banker's, and who regarded them as juvenile trifles; not greatly incensed at this republican spirit which they deemed would expire of itself whenever the king should return to govern his own—a day which they felt assured was not very distant. But there was a difference of opinion between them as to how this much-desired result should be brought about. When Béranger saw Napoleon for the first time, he was in company with the Count de Clermont, a zealous royalist, who told him that there was no doubt but that Napoleon would act the part of General Monk, and would lead the Bourbons back to the throne. By this means, to become the first subject of the realm seemed to them the loftiest aim to which the first Consul could aspire: they could not know the mighty ambition which he cherished, nor see what gigantic strides he was already taking toward a military despotism.

The royalists were not all agreed as to who should be the king. There was a very singular and romantic party which, though small, was by no means insignificant in numbers, that has passed unnoticed by the historians of this era, that alleged that a gentleman by the name of Vernon, living in Bretagne, was entitled to the throne and crown of France; and they confidently looked forward to the day when he should gain his rights, and should be anointed king with oil from the holy phial of Clovis.

In order to show the right of M. Vernon to these lofty honors, it was asserted that he was descended from that mysterious and nameless person known in French history as the man with the iron mask, of whom so much has been said and so little is really known. All that can be said of him, with any degree of certainty is, that in the reign of Louis XIV, a man whose head and face were always seen concealed by an iron mask, in such a manner that he could not be seen was, for many years, a prisoner in the Isles Sainte Marguerite and in the Bastile; that he was waited on and attended with a degree of respect only inferior to that shown the king himself; that his chamber was magnificently furnished; beside which, it may be stated as probably true, that when he died, on the morning of the 19th of November, 1703, his head was cut off and his face was disfigured. Although the Bastile was then occupied by many intelligent prisoners of state, neither they nor the ordinary keepers of the prison could fathom the secret. One of the prisoners afterward told what a profound impression was produced on him by seeing him walking in the corridors with the inflexible veil over his face, and by hearing late at night the melancholy sounds of a guitar issuing from his chamber. The mask was either so arranged that he could not speak, or, what is more probable, he was forbidden to speak under penalty of death. A thousand conjectures have been made as to who he was, why such a dreadful punishment was inflicted, and why, amid his long agony, he was treated with such royal respect; but none of these conjectures are at all satisfactory. No person of great eminence disappeared from Europe in an unknown manner at that time; and the fact stands appalling and unexplained upon the page of history, not to be compared to anything else unless to the terrible mystery of Kaspar Hauser, and affords another signal evidence of the cruelty and heartless tyranny of that king who dictated the

revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and whose reign was alike the glory and the shame of the French empire.

Among the many theories which have been given to the world to solve this dark enigma, the partizans of M. Vernon had theirs, as indeed they had a right to have. They alleged that this strange personage was the son of Louis XIII by Anne of Austria; that he was the eldest son, and should have been king instead of Louis XIV; that through the intrigues of Richelieu and the queen, this eldest child was concealed, ignored, and brought up in obscurity in Normandy; that while obscure, he had issue by a lawful wife; that after Louis XIV ascended the throne, he had him arrested and imprisoned; and that M. Vernon was his lineal descendant. One of these enthusiasts told Béranger that he was reliably informed that Bonaparte had been convinced of the legitimacy of M. Vernon's claims; and that he would assist him to recover his rightful throne. Unlike Perkin Warbeck, M. Vernon seems never to have dreamed that he was an imposter. The story had descended to him and he believed it. He lived in a modest castle and apparently in a kind of ease, which was continued, perhaps, by the favors of his partizans, who were very numerous in his vicinity. Being of amiable manners, excellent mind and good address, this asserted king was exceedingly popular among his credulous neighbors, and was kept under observation by the government for some years. The belief that the iron mask was a son of Anne of Austria is still quite popular in France among the common people, who do not like to leave any striking mystery without some kind of a solution. When the young Béranger heard the Bourbonists talking about their legitimate master, he would sometimes ask them whether they alluded to M. Vernon.

Meantime, the banking-house of Béranger was fast becoming popular among the royalists; so much so that even the nobility came there to borrow money, which they rarely repaid. To the banker they were exceedingly amiable, and to justify their condescension, they recognized his claims to nobility without examining his evidence, assuring him that his manners proved the fact; that in them he carried his patent to the peerage.

When the young poet first came to Paris his mother had been driven by necessity to live again with his father. It seems that they had more than once lived together before for short periods, ending in quarrels and separation. She

now used her best efforts to make a town fop of her son; but in that respect his disposition was intractable, and within ten months from the reunion of the family her imprudences put an end to her life, in her thirty-seventh year; leaving, besides the poet, another child, a daughter.

Béranger, the father, became implicated in the conspiracy of Brothier, and was arrested and put in prison; but there being no sufficient proof against him, he was soon set at liberty. During his detention in prison his son conducted the business of the house with such ability and success, that his admiring father declared that he would one day be the first banker in France. In these days of the opulence of the Bérangers, the father was quite extravagant in his expenditures, as was his nature; but the son was quite prudent. He never had much taste for dress, and he lodged in a garret, where, he says, the rain and snow often inundated his rude bed. His principal expenditures were his alms to the poor, for already had he begun that life of self-denial and charity to the indigent which he consistently persevered in.

In 1798 the banking-house broke. This was a severe affliction to the poet. He was thoroughly honest, no less from a natural instinct, than from the excellent training of his aunt at Peronne; but as he had a great deal to do with the management of the business, he came in for a large share of the reproaches of the creditors. The aristocratic connections of Béranger, senior, did not keep him from going to prison, and while he was thus mourning the flight of the fickle goddess, his son spent his time in walking around the suburbs of Paris, to avoid the sight of his father's creditors, whose complaints made his existence miserable. A few capitalists, knowing his honesty and his ability, offered to lend him money to start a house in his own name, but he was so disheartened by his late experience that he declined the offer.

As soon as the elder Béranger got out of prison he purchased a *cabinet de lecture*, which, for some time, was kept by his son. It was at that time that the latter began to turn his attention seriously and devotedly to the cultivation of his poetical talent. The celebrated affair of the infernal machine occurred in these days. The poet was present at the explosion, and narrowly escaped. His father, though not compromised in this affair, was known to be unfavorable to the government of the chief Consul, and was closely watched, being called by the commissary of the

police "the banker of the royalists." The poet afterward said that, to judge the fortune of the party by their bankers, bankruptcy was imminent.

To escape from his painful position, the young Béranger thought of joining the French army in Egypt; but he was deterred from taking this step by the advice of his friends. He then lived in a garret in the sixth story of a house in the Boulevard Saint Martin. From this lofty place he had a fine view of the city, and here he industriously pursued his studies, making, in the meantime, some acquaintances among the literary men of France—among others, of Antier, Lebrun and Bocquillon.

But he was growing frightfully poor. True to the traditional habits of poets, he had pledged at a pawnbroker's his gold watch and some other relics of the ephemeral wealth of the banker; his wardrobe was dilapidated, and the year 1804 found him in such pecuniary distress that an absolute necessity existed for some exertion to relieve him from his uncomfortable position, and to provide for his future subsistence. With a faint heart, he one day enclosed a number of his best verses to Senator Lucien Bonaparte, and waited the result with great anxiety, until on the second day he received a letter from Lucien, in which he said that he had read the verses, and that he desired to see the poet. The poet, overwhelmed with joy by this kind response, and imagining himself already on the high road to glory, threw away the needle with which he had been mending his coat, borrowed some suitable clothes, and hastened to comply with the request. His reception was very favorable; he was taken under the immediate care and protection of the Senator, who gave him authority to draw for his own use the salary due him as a member of the Institute, of which three years' arrears were already due; the greater part of which was paid over by the poet to his father, he being content to live on the annual payment of a thousand francs. At twenty-five he obtained employment from the painter Landon, in writing and correcting the text of a literary and artistic work of his, for which he received eighteen hundred francs a year, which enabled him to aid his father and his grandmother, the widow of the old tailor, who was now alone and poor, as well as his sister, who worked with her needle at one of her aunts.

Although his personal wants were thus relieved, he now suffered much distress of mind from the condition of the

country. Notwithstanding he was befriended and protected by a member of the Bonaparte family, toward whom he was always grateful, yet, as a true republican, he could not see Napoleon seize the throne of the Bourbons without mournful regrets and sad forebodings. He was not misled by the military, not to say barbaric, splendor that surrounded the Emperor; he saw beyond it all that France had only exchanged one king for another, and that the great revolution had been a failure. Yet he was not one of those to whom Napoleon was personally hateful; he perceived his virtues, he admired his brilliant genius, he was thankful for the great service he had done the State, but he was unhappy by the thought that France would give even to her greatest favorite and the most extraordinary of men the prerogative of a tyrant. The *Roi d'Yvetôt* will testify the sentiments of the poet to all time, with regard to the empire as created by Napoleon. This artful satire had a great success, and must have given offence to the government; but Napoleon had too much sense to enter into a contest with the young writer of songs.

In 1807, the poet was again in straightened circumstances from having lost his employment under Landon; and this time he was assisted by a friend who lived at Peronne. Thither Béranger was in the habit of returning at intervals; and there he was the chief spirit of a merry club of friends, in which several of his early songs were first sung. While there on one occasion, he conceived the idea of writing a satiric song on a company of archers who inhabited the place. The piece had such a decided success that he had to leave the country for it and flee to Paris; but the ire of the archers was short-lived, and he was soon as welcome at Peronne as ever. It was about this time that his father died of apoplexy, and that his sister entered a convent. Soon after, he succeeded in getting a place in one of the bureaux of the Imperial University. He was offered the choice of several places, but modestly chose that which paid the least.

And now having a modest employment, Béranger devoted his attention to writing songs. It is a kind of writing that had never been highly considered in his own country, if indeed anywhere. The heroic Körner was then trying to elevate it in the literary scale in Germany by the spirited effusions of his patriotic lyre; but in France the ode promised long to maintain its superiority in the public estimation. It would perhaps be hard to say why it was

that the ode attained such an immense popularity in France; but, from Malherbe to Lebrun, the poets of that country have greatly affected that species of composition, although it is apparent that it is but poorly adapted to the language; and it would probably be generally admitted by the candid that of all the French poems their odes are usually the most tiresome. To make songs was supposed to require but little genius; and it was thought that they allowed but a small scope for the imagination. Even as keen a critic as Boileau had said, in a deprecating manner, that even *in a song* there ought to be good sense and art. Perhaps a similar sentiment has been entertained wherever the English language prevails. At least the province of the song has been but little cultivated by our great poets. So little was it esteemed in France that, when the songs of Béranger came to be admired, the literary men of the day, in order to justify their concurrence in the popular applause, were fain to call them odes. But their author would not consent to their being anything else but songs; and as such they were fondly received by the common people, who did not trouble themselves about names. And now that the name of Béranger was known all over the empire, that his songs were sung in every village, that the police watched him because of the *Roi d'Yvetôt*, his society was eagerly sought after; place was offered to him, and the saloons of the rich and the noble were thrown open to him. It would have been very accordant with human nature if he had now stepped into a higher social circle, and had abandoned his former companions to their obscurity. But Béranger did nothing of the sort; he avoided the titled, the great, and the rich, and contented himself with his poverty and his independence. In one of his songs he represented himself as telling Fortune, who rapped at his door, that he looks for other company, and that she can go her way; that he will not open to her. The fickle, but resentful goddess, thus repulsed, never returned. He made a common cause with all whom she had deserted. The somewhat patrician boast of the Venusian bard,

"Odi profanum vulgus et arceo,"

found no response in his philosophy. He did not claim to be of the porcelain clay of the earth, nor that genius gave him the right to be cynical. To the poor and the humble his heart and his lowly lodgings were always open; nor

were his charity and his kindness condescending, but they were great-souled and fraternal.

In 1815 there was a society of literary men in Paris which had taken the name of *Le Caveau*, and which was presided over by Desaugiers, who was then, in consideration of his lively spirit, called the gay Desaugiers. Béranger was one day induced to be present at one of the reunions of this club, the members of which were so delighted with him and a song or two that he sung, that they declared by acclamation that he must become one of their number; and as it was a standing rule that no vote on the admission of a member could be taken while he was present, they hurried the candidate behind the door, and while he stood there with a biscuit and a glass of champagne in his hands, extemporizing a song of thanks, his election was carried unanimously and with great applause. With the president, Béranger was greatly pleased from the first. The open, candid and careless manners of Desaugiers won upon the heart at once. One would have thought that they were born to be friends. Their philosophy was much the same; Desaugiers was also a successful writer of songs, which, though they wanted the brilliancy and spirituality of those of Béranger, were still somewhat of the same style.

In connection with this club, Béranger afterward told a singular anecdote. Having received an invitation from the keeper of a celebrated restaurant to a family dinner, he went, and was much surprised to find, beside his acquaintances Desaugiers and Gentil, a number of persons whom he had never seen before. Suspecting something wrong, he would not eat until the keeper of the restaurant took his seat at the table. He afterward learned that it was the custom of the house that when any one ordered a dinner a few days in advance, he wrote on a card the name of any member of the *Caveau* whose presence was desired; and, therefore, the person so designated was invited as Béranger had been. This way of ordering a poet for dinner, as one would a roast duck or a salmon, did not suit Béranger, although Desaugiers told him that he was ungrateful, and that many members of the club envied him the pleasure and the honor. He was never added to the bill of fare afterward. Soon after Desaugiers changed politics and went over to the strong side, upon which Béranger considered it to be his duty to sever his connection with him, although he afterward remembered him with kindness. Desaugiers was not

a bad man—far from it. His love of pleasure was extreme; and in his songs, the jolly god comes in for a liberal share of his compliments; in one of them, which is in praise of wine, he says that he has to get drunk to get full of his subject. He was merely what his *soubriquet* denoted; and he had no business to have anything to do with matters of state.

As Béranger had seen the rise of the Emperor, he was now destined to see his precipitate fall. In 1814 he saw the wounded borne back from the ruined ramparts of Paris. Bonaparte had so incorporated the French nation in himself that, in his absence, it seemed that nothing could be done; and after a feeble resistance, the city capitulated. The next morning the bills posted on the street announced that the allies would enter in a few hours; while little squares of printed paper, scattered everywhere on the pavement, but not signed, vainly called the Parisians to meet the enemy with the sword. Béranger saw, perhaps for the first time, the white cockade of the Bourbons; he heard the shouts for the Emperor Alexander, the Emperor of Prussia, the King, Louis XVIII, and the Bourbons; he saw the Cossacks encamped in the Champs Elysées, the brilliant cavalcade of the dukes, marquises and counts of the old empire entering Paris; he saw the white handkerchiefs waving from every window, as if this had been a triumph instead of a defeat; he saw that the theatre bills were posted for the night's amusements, as usual; that this great disgrace was viewed by the volatile people of Paris as a mere distraction. Little did the principal actors in this singular scene imagine that in a short time the discrowned Napoleon would be hastening to Paris, and that they would be fleeing to the winds like a covey of frightened birds.

All this was but a combat between kings; and the republican poet was looking on his bleeding country with the sorrow of a patriot. He was thinking less of the glittering nobles who filled the streets from which they had long been expelled, than of the common people of France. Even from out the dirt of Paris he could see the eyes that looked up to him were human; and he knew that poor human hearts beat beneath, and that their sad condition would not be made gay by being shone on by royalty.

Amid these strange scenes the poet saw the royalists trying to pull down the statue of the Emperor from its pedestal in la place Vendôme. They had horses and men tugging at it with cords; but, as obstinate as its great pro-

totype, it resisted every effort; and at each new failure in their attempts, the people laughed and shouted again until the task was given over. The multitude were much pleased with their new ruler: for, instead of being hideous, as they had been led to believe, they found him of a pleasant and agreeable appearance. But there was one in the king's retinue that they longed to see, that they loved before they saw, but whom they were destined never to love again, and this was the Duchess D'Angoulême, the only remaining child of the unhappy Louis XVI. They had heard of her spirited conduct at Bordeaux; they remembered her terrible sufferings in infancy; the great wrongs that had been inflicted on her by the French people; a feeling of regret for the past, a desire to cancel and to atone for it drew them to her, and they expected her to be animated with kindred sentiments of kindness. It was, perhaps, natural for the Parisian people to think this; but, perhaps, she who had been the Princess Royal could not help but reflect that it was Paris that had executed her innocent father amid the jeers of the Jacobins; that it was Paris that had taken her mother, the beautiful Marie Antoinette, wasted and nearly blind from long confinement in a squalid prison, clothed like a market woman, in an open tumbril, and had publicly murdered her amid the curses and howls of the rabble, and the slanderous cries of shameless prostitutes. She must have reflected that she was near that place where her poor brother, an unoffending child, had been beaten and starved to death; that it was Paris that had drenched her childhood in tears and had blighted her existence, and that if she had received kind treatment anywhere, it had been among strangers and those whom Paris had banished. Surely, it could not be in the human heart to forgive such wrongs as these. But the Parisians, making no allowance for such considerations as these, were displeased by what they thought her cold, proud air.

Among those who returned at this epoch were Benjamin Constant and Madame de Staël—with the former of whom Béranger was soon on terms of intimacy; but with the latter he declined all acquaintance, on account of the unbounded court that this gifted woman was then paying to the royalists. After the hundred days, and when Louis was again on the throne, overtures were made to the poet to induce him to write on behalf of the king; recompenses and preferment were promised him, to all of which he replied that if the king would rule well and make the people happy, he

would praise him. When, in 1815, Béranger published his first volume of songs, some were found which were sufficiently severe on the government, but the king merely remarked that many things must be forgiven to the author of the *Roi d'Yvetôt*, as if the poet had been the enemy of Napoleon. He was neither the enemy of Louis nor of his rival; he was only the enemy of bad rulers and the lover of his country. From the publication of this volume he derived a considerable sum. He had already given up his salary at the Institute to the father of Madame Lucien Bonaparte, who had fallen into indigence; and, although in reduced circumstances, he had declined the offer of a lucrative place in the office of the *Courier Français*, because he desired to be untrammelled with literary connections. Notwithstanding the apparent lenity of the king, he was informed by the government that if he published any more volumes, he would be considered as having resigned his place at the University. He, however, applied himself diligently to prepare another volume. He who had not been afraid of the power of Napoleon was not likely to be intimidated by the threats of Louis XVIII. Like Rousseau, he wrote slowly and with difficulty. When told by some small poet that he frequently wrote a song in an hour, Béranger replied that, for himself, he rarely completed one in less than a month. His songs are all short, and yet he tells us that he never wrote more than sixteen in any single year; and that he sometimes passed eight or ten months in hard labor without producing a single verse. In 1821, he published two volumes of new songs. These brought on him the vengeance of the government. He was arraigned for the sentiments they contained. The attorney-general, Marchangy, used every effort to ensure a conviction, while the voluntary counsel of the defendant, the talented Dupin, sustained his cause with the greatest eloquence and zeal. So great was the popularity of the poet, that all Paris crowded to the trial; even the judges had to enter the court room through a window, and it was with the greatest difficulty that the defendant himself made his way to the tribune.

The result was that he was fined five hundred francs and imprisoned for three months. It is a remarkable thing in connection with this trial, as showing the exquisite manner in which the verses of Béranger adapt themselves to music, that the presiding judge said that he was sorry that the dignity of a court would not permit the obnoxious songs to

be sung; because, in that way, the sin would seem to be expiated. This *obiter dictum* of his honor was, perhaps, not very acceptable to the king. The three months were spent at Saint Pelagie. He said, afterward: "I have known persons who were frightened by a prison; not so with me. I had at Saint Pelagie a warm, healthy and tolerably-furnished room, whereas I left a den void of furniture, exposed to all the inclemencies of freezings and of thaws, without either stove or chimney, where for more than forty years I had nothing but icy water for all purposes, and an old covering in which I wrapped myself of long nights when I wanted to scrawl some rhymes. I found myself much better off at Saint Pelagie, and I used to say: 'This prison will spoil me.'" When we consider that the man who passed "forty years" thus had promotion pressed upon him with the tacit understanding that if his pen was not subservient it should be still, and that the greater part of his earnings were spent in relieving the wants of others, we shall begin to have some appreciation of Béranger. In this manner of life there was no affectation; his dress he kept neat though plain; he made no display of his poverty; he made no merit of it; he did not sneer at the rich; but in language and bearing he was kind to all, cheerful and modest.

Béranger caused the proceedings of this trial to be published, and in them were, of course, the condemned songs, for which he was in prison, as they had been given in evidence; and in this way millions of copies were disseminated through France. Every journal, from Strasbourg to Marseilles, copied them. This was the effect of the attempt of the government to suppress them. The government considered that this new publication by Béranger was a new offence; and he was no sooner out of prison than he was replaced in the prisoner's box; but this time he was acquitted, it being ruled that any one has a right to publish those judicial proceedings which transpire in public.

Thiers, Mignet and Béranger, in August, 1827, stood by the bedside of the dying Manuel, who had been the fast friend of those three excellent literary men. By his will Manuel gave to the poet a life annuity of a thousand francs; but he, thinking that Manuel's family was not sufficiently provided for, relinquished it; but young Manuel was careful that in some way he should receive it every year as long as he lived. On the publication of his fourth volume, in 1828, Béranger was again prosecuted and condemned to

pay a fine of ten thousand francs, and to be imprisoned nine months. The fine was paid by a public subscription gotten up by the friends of the poet. After the revolution of July, the committee of aid offered to make amends to Béranger by voting him an annuity of ten thousand francs for life; but he declined to receive it, saying that there were those who needed it more than he did. Among the strong personal friends who interested themselves in his behalf at that time, were Thiers, Mignet, Dumas, Chateaubriand, General La Fayette and the Duke de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt. He had made the acquaintance of Talleyrand, but him he never liked. It being generally believed that his songs had greatly helped to bring about the deposition of Charles X, he was urged as a recompense to accept the management of one of the bureaux of the government; but he declined all preferment. He was, however, compelled to accept a tri-colored banner which an unknown lady unexpectedly presented to him in the parlors of Lafitte, telling him that she had spent the previous night in making it. The new king sent his thanks to the poet for his services to the country, and desired to see him. Lafitte urged that Béranger was a republican. "I," said the king, "am a republican too." The poet declined to go; he knew that the king would urge him to accept pensions and benefits, and that kings do not like to be refused; he knew, also, that there could be but little affinity between a mighty monarch and a writer of songs, living an humble and unpretending life. Soon after this he was urged to propose for a seat in the Academy, and it was even said that it would be given him whether he proposed or not; but he prevailed on his friends to let the matter drop. He was not insensible to this the highest honor that can be conferred on a literary man in France; but he disliked the state which such a position would infer. In 1848 the people proposed to make him a member of the Constituent Assembly of the Republic; and, notwithstanding that he wrote a circular letter declining the honor, he received for that place more than two hundred thousand votes: a complete evidence of his unbounded popularity; but, feeling himself unsuited to the place, in a few days he resigned, and continued the simple and unostentatious habits of his life.

Surrounded by warm and devoted friends, idolized by the people of his native city, and with a name familiar all over the civilized world, the poet had grown to be an old man. If we may judge from his songs—and he himself

said, "my songs and myself"—his old age was calm and serene. The memories of his youth cheered the decline of life. He speaks of himself as going into the fields to gather songs and flowers. His only complaint (and that mildly expressed) was, that he could not write songs as in the days gone by. He compared his search for songs to that of the villager, who, in the late autumn, seeks among the branches of his dismantled trees to find whether here and there an apple may not still be found. It was toward the end of June, 1857, in the reign of Napoleon III, that the hearts of the Parisian people were smitten by the announcement that Béranger was dangerously, perhaps fatally, ill. The literary friends of the poet devoted their whole attention to him during his illness. Thiers, Barrot, Lamartine, Saint Hilaire, Mignet, Lebrun and Cousin were at his room every day. "Do you know what I call you, Béranger?" said Thiers, one day. "I call you the Horace of France." "What will the other Horace say?" asked the moribund poet, with a smile. His sister had been in the habit of coming to see him from her cloister once a year; she came now, received his silent embraces, and departed to see him no more. The ladies of the city gave him every possible attention. Every day the newspapers gave to an anxious public an account of his condition. On the 16th of July it became generally known that Béranger could not live many hours. The street near his house was crowded with the multitude which had gathered and waited the final announcement in suspense. The wailings of the Parisians outside could be heard even in the chamber of death. In the evening, and in the midst of a great storm that swept over Paris the poet expired. So great were the manifestations of grief throughout the city, that the government, fearing some popular outbreak, took his burial into its own hands. By the proclamation he was called the national poet of France; the chamber where he lay was surrounded by a strong guard, only a very few private persons were allowed to be present at the burial, and the imperial arms repressed the tumultuous grief of the people.

Thus was buried the poet who during his life perhaps enjoyed more personal popularity than any that ever lived; whose name will no doubt survive as long as the great names of Corneille, Moliere, Pascal or Racine—as long indeed as the French language shall be remembered. He made his country resonant with the mighty memories of the past, and the cherished hope of a universal peace;

and while his lyre vibrated to every note of pleasure, it had the sound of a trumpet-call to marshal the people in defence of their just rights, startling alike the proud Corsican, the haughty Bourbon and the wily jesuit. His hatred of demagoguery was no less than his hatred of tyranny. He did not flatter the people, he made for them no delusive claims, he asked no recompense, he did not excite the populace to a mad enthusiasm; but he faithfully and persistently maintained their honest demands in the face of all opposition. His versification is perhaps the best that the French language can boast of; as a writer of songs he was confessedly the greatest that ever lived; as a satirist, a humorist, and a wit, he has had but few superiors; and although his songs are mostly gay, yet a few of them breathe a tenderness and express a pathos that are irresistible, and even his most joyous pieces sometimes contain in disguise a melancholy thought of great sweetness and beauty. Had Thomas Hood not written two or three of the most touching songs in our language, we never could have understood how it was that Béranger wrote *Les Hirondelles*. Our praise, however, must be tempered with some blame—our admiration must be softened by some regret. Such is the condition of humanity that judicious condemnation must make a discord with every note of discreet applause. His muse had sometimes more the similitude of a Parisian *grisette* than of the chaste Diana. His apologists will urge for him the circumstances of time and place, and the great examples of Horace, of Anacreon, of Shakspeare, of Goethe, of Rabalais, and perhaps of Byron; but while these cannot excuse, he will be further censured for a few songs whose impiety is not redeemed even by their wit. As a patriot, he must be admitted to have been pure. During all the revolutions that he survived, he was at all times a temperate and a reasonable republican. He might indeed have been said to be the last of the Girondists. The consistency with which he defended the same principles during a long life must commend him to the faithful, and forms quite a contrast with the conduct of Talleyrand, Bernadotte, and the thousands of others who were willing to change with every change of wind.

ART. III.—THE CRISIS.

IN that dark hour of the Revolutionary war, when Washington, defeated on Long Island, and driven from Forts Washington and Lee, with great loss, retreated to New York; when the army was disorganized and scattered, the militia retiring to their homes, and the hearts and hopes of the people were almost crushed, and no ray of light could be seen upon the horizon; though six months had elapsed since the Declaration of Independence had been given to the world, a voice went forth from the patriot camp which echoed through America, and woke up and reanimated to bold deeds and glorious triumph the hearts of its people.

"These are the times," it said, "that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of his country; but he that stands it now, deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph. What we obtain too cheap we esteem too lightly: 'tis dearness only that gives everything its value. Heaven knows how to put a proper price upon its goods; and it would be strange indeed, if so celestial an article as FREEDOM should not be highly rated."

The author of these words became at once famous, and made for himself a reputation which, if not sullied by later acts, would have equalled that of the noblest of our patriots. We proceed to give a brief account of this author, and will follow it up with an analysis of several of his patriotic contributions, showing, at the same time, the identity of the cause which he advocated and that which now animates the men of the South, and the application of the language and doctrines introduced to either period of history. It will be interesting and refreshing to go over this early period of our country and to draw the parallel.

Thomas Paine was born in the county of Norfolk, England, on the 29th of January, 1737, of Quaker extraction. His education in schools closed at thirteen, except what he afterward got as a teacher, and was very moderate. He now worked for several years as a stay maker, and afterward served as a common sailor on a privateer, but returned to his more quiet and homely profession in Kent. We next find him, by some means, employed in the custom-house,

where, through the influence of the commissioners, he obtained an introduction to Dr. Franklin, and sailed, in 1774, for America. Here he set up very soon as pamphleteer, having began in that line with an Excise pamphlet before leaving England. Dr. Rush suggested to him the title of "Common Sense," as it is said, which he appended to his political articles or letters which appeared at intervals during the seven years of the war, and were sixteen in number, written from various points, and addressed to the people of England or America, to Lord Howe, the Earl of Shelbourne, Sir Grey Carleton, etc. Paine was, for much of this time, with the army, which he accompanied as an itinerant writer, sharing its good or bad fare, and in association with its lower grade of officers. The great merit of his labors was, however, recognized everywhere. Mr. Burke said that they prepared the Americans for independence. The Pennsylvania University conferred upon him a degree, and its legislature a handsome bonus. Congress afterward voted him three thousand dollars for his "ingenious and timely publications." This much for the man.

We have indicated the circumstances under which the first number of "Common Sense" was given to the people. In this respect the position of the colonies is not that of the South. It is true that hostile feet still tread the soil of Virginia and Maryland and Missouri, but they are kept in check by a vigorous, active and determined yeomanry and gentry, who never strike without making their mark, and who, if they give back to-day, do it only that they may concentrate and strike with greater effect to-morrow. These blows will fall thicker and faster as the enemy shall advance from his strong posts, and find himself deeper in the heart of the country he would desolate. Maryland and Missouri, with spirit erect and unbroken, as we know it to be, despite of the misfortunes which have fallen upon them, growing out of their exposed position, will reappear in the conflict; and good old Virginia, the mother of States and statesmen, aided by her sisters to the southward, shall drive back, by a series of blows harder and more decisive than those of Bethel, Vienna, Sewell's Point and Romney, the infamous hordes that are pouring down from the Northern hive. Not yet do any "shrink from the service of the country." Traitors and Tories, to be sure, we have, but these are in every cause; the revolution of '76 was won in spite of them.

The Declaration of Independence was delayed too long.

thought "Common Sense," and thus much valuable time was lost; and what have we not lost by the same supineness and hesitation? What if the border States had appeared earlier in the field? But we reproach them not. The entire South is reaping the harvest of their own supine and timid policy, which should have driven them to strike a quarter of a century ago, in vindication of rights and liberties it was too evidently the purpose of the growing fanaticism and numbers of the North eventually to take from us. When has the North hesitated to declare this purpose, and how anxiously has it awaited the hour when numbers should bring, as was thought, the certainty of success? Hence the mad and furious rage that this victim should have escaped even when decked with garlands at the sacrificial altar. Such a result never entered into their dreams. They cannot yet realize that it has happened. Take this paragraph from "Common Sense" and insert Despot of Washington for King of Great Britain:

"I have as little superstition in me as any man living, but my secret opinion has ever been, and still is, that God Almighty will not give up a people to military destruction, or leave them unsupportedly to perish, who have so earnestly and so repeatedly sought to avoid the calamities of war by every decent method which wisdom could invent. Neither have I so much of the infidel in me, as to suppose that He has relinquished the government of the world, and given us up to the care of devils; and as I do not, I cannot see on what grounds the King of Britain can look up to heaven for help against us: a common murderer, a highwayman, or a housebreaker, has as good a pretence as he."

The panic, which prevailed after Howe's successes in 1776, brought out secret traitors and Tories. Such an inactive policy has fostered in certain parts of the South. Bolder and decisive measures will disarm them or bring them to our side. We would deal gently with them at first. Many are ignorant and timid, and have been taught by base and designing leaders only the overwhelming power of the enemy. They have not learned our own strength or been made to see truly the issues which are presented. Now, as in the revolution, many of the leaders of these shall "penitentially solemnize with curses the day on which they first declared themselves." Paine, writing from New York and Pennsylvania, confessed that these colonies were infested with Tories. He describes them:

"And what is a Tory? Good God! what is he? I should not be afraid to go with a hundred Whigs against a thousand Tories, were they to attempt to get into arms. Every Tory is a coward; for servile, slavish, self-inter-

ested fear is the foundation of Toryism; and a man under such influence, though he may be cruel, never can be brave."

He hints at what might be the true policy to adopt toward the Tories. God forbid there should be necessity to adopt it again:

"America could carry on a two years war by the confiscation of the property of disaffected persons, and be made happy by their expulsion. Say not that this is revenge, call it rather the soft resentment of a suffering people, who, having no object in view but the *good of all*, have staked their *own all* upon a seemingly doubtful event. Yet it is folly to argue against determined hardness; eloquence may strike the ear, and the language of sorrow draw forth the tear of compassion, but nothing can reach the heart that is steeled with prejudice."

Here is a glorious picture of the true patriot. It will answer for the thousands among us who are now in the field, and the hundreds of thousands who are waiting for the call:

"I turn with the warm ardor of a friend to those who have nobly stood, and are yet determined to stand the matter out: I call not upon a few, but upon all: not on *this State* or *that State*, but on *every State*; up and help us; lay your shoulders to the wheel; better have too much force than too little, when so great an object is at stake. Let it be told to the future world, that in the depth of winter, when nothing but hope and virtue could survive, that the city and the country, alarmed at one common danger, came forth to meet and to repulse it. Say not that thousands are gone, turn out your tens of thousands; throw not the burden of the day upon Providence, but "*show your faith by your works*," that God may bless you. It matters not where you live, or what rank of life you hold, the evil or the blessing will reach you all. The far and the near, the home counties and the back, the rich and the poor, will suffer or rejoice alike. The heart that feels not now is dead: the blood of his children will curse his cowardice, who shrinks back at a time when a little might have saved the whole, and made *them* happy. I love the man that can smile in trouble, that can gather strength from distress, and grow brave by reflection. 'Tis the business of little minds to shrink; but he whose heart is firm, and whose conscience approves his conduct, will pursue his principles unto death."

Here is the consummation and the hope:

"By perseverance and fortitude we have the prospect of a glorious issue; by cowardice and submission, the sad choice of a variety of evils—a ravaged country—a depopulated city—habitations without safety, and slavery without hope—our homes turned into barracks and bawdy-houses for Hessians, and a future race to provide for whose fathers we shall doubt of. Look on this picture and weep over it! and if there yet remains one thoughtless wretch who believes it not, let him suffer it unlamented."

The second letter of "Common Sense" is dated January 13th, 1777, and is addressed to Lord Howe. His Lordship had just published a proclamation to the people of the colonies, very much after the fashion of our would-be Illinois despot in 1861, in which he commanded all persons, assem-

bled together under the name of General or Provincial Congresses, Committees, Conventions, or other Associations, to desist and cease from all such treasonable actings and doings. His Lordship was obeyed in the same manner as his Hoosiership. "Common Sense," speaking from New York, and supposing the colonies, in response, were to require the Parliament of Britain to disperse, says to his Lordship: "Only suppose how laughable such an edict would appear from us. Turn the tables, then, upon yourself, and you will see how your proclamation is received here." The modern proclamation, it is understood, was received in like merry mood at Montgomery, as we have no doubt the later edition of it, embodied in a Fourth of July message, was received at Richmond. "You may issue your proclamations and welcome, for we have learned to reverence ourselves and scorn the insulting ruffians that employ you. But your masters have commanded, and you have not enough of nature left to refuse." Lord Howe had spoken of mercy, and in this way seduced over thousands of Tories whom he could not afterward protect. Let those of 1861 note the language which follows:

"What, I say, is to become of those wretches? What is to become of those who went over to you from this city and state? What more can you say to them than 'shift for yourselves?' Or what more can they hope for than to wander like vagabonds over the face of the earth? You may now tell them to take their leave of America, and all that once was theirs. Recommend them, for consolation, to your master's court; there, perhaps, they may make a shift to live on the scraps of some dangling parasite, and choose companions among thousands like themselves. A traitor is the foulest fiend on earth."

His Lordship, and the General, his brother, it is well known, prosecuted the war with savage ferocity. Their avowed purpose was charged to be: to kill, conquer, plunder, pardon and enslave; and no order had been given to the troops to refrain from robbery, the only impartiality being to plunder all alike. A general order had been given that all inhabitants taken in arms, without an officer with them, shall be immediately taken and hung. This is Mr. Lincoln's precedent, it is believed, for the threat to hang privateers and guerillas. The attempt will be as *mercifully* reciprocated. Now, as in the old revolution, the enemy will soon be taught the necessity of conducting civilized warfare. The lesson which is here given to his Lordship may be learned again to advantage:

"We may be surprised by events we did not expect, and in that interval of recollection you may gain some temporary advantage: such was the case

a few weeks ago, but we soon ripen again into reason, collect our strength, and while you are preparing for a triumph, we come upon you with a defeat. Such it has been, and such it would be were you to try it a hundred times over. Were you to garrison the places you might march over, in order to secure their subjection (for remember you can do it by no other means), your army would be like a stream of water running to nothing. By the time you extended from New York to Virginia, you would be reduced to a string of drops not capable of hanging together; while we, by retreating from State to State, like a river turning back upon itself, would acquire strength in the same proportion as you lost it, and in the end be capable of overwhelming you. The country, in the mean time, would suffer, but it is a day of suffering, and we ought to expect it. What we contend for is worthy the affliction we may go through. If we get but bread to eat, and any kind of raiment to put on, we ought not only to be contented but thankful. More than *that* we ought not to look for, and less than *that* heaven has not yet suffered us to want. He that would sell his birthright for a little *salt*, is as worthless as he who sold it for *porridge* without salt. And he that would part with it for a gay coat, or a *plain* coat, ought forever to be a slave in buff. What are salt, sugar, and finery to the inestimable blessings of 'Liberty and Safety?' Or what are the inconveniences of a few months to the tributary bondage of ages?"

Lord Howe had reduced himself to a great dilemma by announcing his triumphant advances in America. He is told, with such a list of victories, the nation cannot expect you will ask for new supplies; and, to confess your want of them, would give the lie to your triumphs. The Despot of the North has neither the virtue or the manliness to feel this position. He begins to-day by a joke that "nobody is hurt," and laughs at this combination as a mere summer cloud which he is going to scatter in a minute with his ordinary thunder; and, to-morrow, after three months of thundering, asks for an army of a half million of men and four hundred millions of dollars. The intimation at the close of letter number two might well be heeded by him:

"Our independence, with God's blessing, we will maintain against all the world; but as we wish to avoid evil ourselves, we wish not to inflict it on others. I am never over-inquisitive into the secrets of the cabinet, but I have some notion, that if you neglect the present opportunity, that it will not be in our power to make a separate peace with you afterward; for whatever treaties or alliances we form, we shall most faithfully abide by; wherefore you may be deceived if you think you can make it with us at any time. A lasting, independent peace is my wish, end, and aim; and to accomplish that, 'I pray God the Americans may never be defeated, and I trust while they have good officers, and are well commanded,' and willing to be commanded, 'that they NEVER WILL BE.'"

The third number of "The Crisis" was dated at Philadelphia, in April, 1777, and is mainly occupied in presenting the arguments in favor of the unconditional independence of the colonies, in answer to the objections of the

Tories and Loyalists, and in confirmation of the views of the Patriots. It is, perhaps, the ablest of the series, and must have exercised a prodigious energy wherever read and studied. We have marked a few passages for extract:

"The success of the cause, the union of the people, and the means of supporting and securing both, are points which cannot be too much attended to. He who doubts of the former is a desponding coward, and he who wilfully disturbs the latter is a traitor. Their characters are easily fixed, and under these short descriptions I leave them for the present. * * *

The enemy, "like a gamester nearly ruined, hath now put all her losses into one bet, and is playing a desperate game for the total. If she wins it, she wins from me my life; she wins the continent as the forfeited property of rebels; the right of taxing those that are left as reduced subjects; and the power of binding them slaves: and the single die which determines this unparalleled event is, whether we support our independence or she overturn it. This is coming to the point at once. Here is the touchstone to try men by. *He that is not a supporter of the independent States of America, in the same degree that his religious and political principles would suffer him to support the government of any other country, of which he called himself a subject, is, in the American sense of the word, a TORY; and the instant that he endeavors to bring his Toryism into practice, he becomes a TRAITOR.* The first can only be detected by a general test, and the law hath already provided for the latter."

The policy of the British Government was to drive the colonies to arms. The same policy is discernable in the Lincoln dynasty in their course toward Fort Sumter. Says "Common Sense":

"If the many circumstances which happened at this memorable time be taken in one view, and compared with each other, they will justify a conclusion which seems not to have been attended to, I mean a fixed design in the King and Ministry of driving America into arms, in order that they might be furnished with a pretence for seizing the whole continent, as the immediate property of the crown. A noble plunder for hungry courtiers!"

No time was to be given for negotiation, and nothing to be conceded in favor of peace:

"They [the Government] had not the least doubt at that time of conquering America at one blow; and what they expected to get by a conquest being infinitely greater than anything they could hope to get either by taxation or accommodation, they seemed determined to prevent even the possibility of hearing each other, lest America should disappoint their greedy hopes of the whole, by listening even to their own terms. On the one hand they refused to hear the petition of the continent, and on the other hand took effectual care the continent should not hear them."

Our revolutionary fathers forbore long, and never yielded the hope of peace:

"Independence was a doctrine scarce and rare, even toward the conclusion of the year 1775; all our politics had been founded on the hope or expectation of making the matter up—a hope which, though general on the side of America, had never entered the head or heart of the British court. Their hope was conquest and confiscation. Good heavens! what volumes of

thanks does America owe to Britain! What infinite obligation to the tool that fills, with paradoxical vacancy, the throne! Nothing but the sharpest essence of villainy, compounded with the strongest distillation of folly, could have produced a menstroom that would have effected a separation."

The Swards, Chases, Sumners, and Greeleys are to swallow the South at a single mouthful. The contest is to be sharp and quick; the subjugation complete. So thought and spoke the Talbots, Townsends, and Littletons, in the British Parliament:

" 'The Americans,' says Lord Talbot,* 'have been obstinate, undutiful and ungovernable from the very beginning, from their first early and infant settlements; and I am every day more and more convinced that this people never will be brought back to their duty, and the subordinate relation they stand in to this country, till *reduced to unconditional, effectual submission; no concession on our part, no lenity, no endurance*, will have any other effect but that of increasing their insolence.'

'The struggle,' says Lord Townsend,† 'is now a struggle for power; the die is cast, and the *only point* which now remains to be determined is, in what manner the war can be most effectually prosecuted and speedily finished, in order to procure that *unconditional submission*, which has been so ably stated by the noble Earl with the white staff' (meaning Lord Talbot); 'and I have no reason to doubt that the measures now pursuing will put an end to the war in the course of a *single campaign*. Should it linger longer, we shall then have reason to expect that some foreign power will interfere, and take advantage of our domestic troubles and civil distractions.'

Lord Littleton: 'My sentiments are pretty well known. I shall only observe now that lenient measures have had no other effect than to produce insult after insult; that the more we conceded, the higher America rose in her demands, and the more insolent she has grown. It is for this reason that I am now for the most effective and decisive measures; and am of opinion that no alternative is left us but to relinquish America forever, or finally determine to compel her to acknowledge the legislative authority of this country; and it is the principle of an *unconditional submission* I would be for maintaining.'

What follows will be prediction for 1861, as it proved to be for 1777:

"We now know the enemy we have to do with. While drunk with the certainty of victory, they disdained to be civil; and in proportion as disappointment makes them sober, and their apprehensions of an European war alarm them, they will become cringing and artful; honest they cannot be. But our answer to them, in either condition they may be in, is short and full—'As free and independent States we are willing to make peace with you to-morrow, but we neither can hear nor reply in any other character.'"

* Steward of the King's household.

† Formerly General Townsend, at Quebec, and late Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

ART. IV.—GEOGRAPHICAL QUESTION OF SECESSION.

UNDER this title we find a chapter in a tract which was prepared and published in New York to influence the border States prior to their action on the question of secession. The object of the tract is to show "the effects of such secession upon the North and the South." We intend to consider, hereafter, the general arguments adduced. At present, the single question of the border States will be referred to.

The writer points to want of homogeneousness which exists in the territory and population of the South, and regards any permanent union of its parts to be impossible. He draws a line from the south-west corner of Maryland, along the ridge separating the waters of the Ohio from those of the Atlantic, to the southern border of Virginia, and thence southward through the mountain districts of North Carolina and Georgia, and westward in the direction of the Alleghany range. The territory included embraces the counties given below of Kentucky, Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina, Georgia and Alabama, in extent seventy-five thousand square miles, having a length, north to south, of four hundred miles, and width of over two hundred. It is in soil and climate homogeneous. Its population was, in 1850, 1,105,313 whites and 101,079, or nine per cent., slaves. The slaves having remained stationary, or nearly so, the free in 1860 are estimated at 1,300,000. The inhabitants are poor and hardy, and the country little adapted to staple crops. Here the Yankees propose to find an Elysium! Here is the wedge with which they intend to split the South in twain, and eventually to destroy it. "The great tongue of land," says the pamphlet, "carries Northern ideas, industry and population into the heart of cottondom and within two hundred miles of the Gulf of Mexico."

This very pretty Yankee programme is in part spoiled by the course which things have taken in those counties of Georgia, Alabama and North Carolina, included in this list, in which so much was to be expected. Nowhere throughout the limits of the South are the people more earnest, determined and patriotic, and devoting themselves and their all more actively against the Lincoln despotism, than in these counties! In East Tennessee the Confederacy has but to pursue a bolder and more decided policy to overcome the ignorant opposition which has shown itself, and already there are evidences of a decided improvement. If we do not get Kentucky to unite with us, a portion of Western Virginia will be better lost than gained to the South, and the loss will be a general blessing.

With what an amusing prophecy does the author of the pamphlet conclude his sage deductions and demonstrations. Speaking of the new Confederacy, he says (the italics, etc., are our own):

"It will not be long before every member of it will heartily wish himself back in the bosom of the *Old Confederacy*, which gave both *DIGNITY AND*

PROTECTION at the lowest possible cost, and which allowed every reasonable scope to individual action, *tolerated every kind of opinion*, and made obedience to law, within its limited sphere, the only test of nationality. To the bosom of this Confederacy all must in time return, no matter how eccentric may be the present action of the refractory members. They have embarked in a contest in which natural laws, and the public and private welfare are against them. Such a contest cannot be long sustained. The excessive burdens which the people of the new Confederacy will soon be called on to bear, will be contrasted with the MILLENIUM OF PROTECTION, quiet and prosperity enjoyed under the Federal Government, and which can never be regained but under the banner which has signalized our triumphs, and is the *symbol of our unity*."

WESTERN VIRGINIA.

COUNTIES.	TOTAL POPULATION.	NUMBER OF SLAVES.	COUNTIES.	TOTAL POPULATION.	NUMBER OF SLAVES.
Barbour.....	9,005	113	Monroe.....	10,204	1,061
Boone.....	3,237	183	Nicholas.....	3,963	73
Braxton.....	4,212	89	Ohio.....	18,066	164
Brooke.....	5,054	31	Pocahontas...	3,598	267
Cabell.....	6,299	389	Preston.....	11,708	87
Carroll.....	5,409	154	Pulaski.....	5,118	1,471
Dodridge.....	2,750	32	Putnam.....	5,338	632
Fayette.....	3,955	156	Raleigh.....	1,765	23
Floyd.....	6,458	443	Randolph.....	5,243	201
Giles.....	6,570	657	Ritchie.....	3,902	16
Gilmer.....	3,475	72	Russell.....	11,919	982
Grayson.....	6,677	499	Scott.....	9,829	473
Greenbrier.....	10,022	1,317	Smythe.....	8,162	1,064
Hancock.....	4,050	3	Taylor.....	5,367	168
Harrison.....	11,728	488	Tazwell.....	9,942	1,060
Jackson.....	6,544	53	Tyler.....	5,498	38
Kanawha.....	15,353	3,140	Washington..	14,612	2,131
Lee.....	10,267	787	Wayne.....	4,760	189
Lewis.....	10,131	368	Wetzell.....	4,284	17
Logan.....	3,620	87	Wirt.....	3,353	32
Marion.....	10,552	94	Wood.....	9,450	373
Marshall.....	10,138	49	Wyoming.....	1,645	61
Mason.....	7,539	647	Wythe.....	12,024	2,185
Mercer.....	4,222	177			
Monongalia...	12,387	176	Total.....	339,404	22,912

EAST TENNESSEE.

Anderson.....	6,938	506	McMinn.....	13,906	1,564
Bledsoe.....	5,959	827	Marion.....	6,314	551
Blount.....	12,424	1,084	Meigs.....	4,879	395
Bradley.....	12,259	744	Monroe.....	11,874	1,188
Campbell.....	6,068	918	Morgan.....	3,430	101
Carter.....	6,296	353	Overton.....	11,211	1,065
Claiborne.....	9,369	660	Polk.....	6,338	400
Cooke.....	8,310	719	Rhea.....	4,415	436
Fentress.....	4,464	148	Roane.....	11,185	1,544
Grainger.....	12,370	1,035	Scott.....	1,905	37
Greene.....	17,824	1,093	Sevier.....	6,920	403
Hamilton.....	10,075	672	Sullivan.....	11,742	1,004
Hancock.....	5,660	202	Van Buren...	2,674	175
Hawkins.....	13,371	1,690	Washington..	13,861	930
Jackson.....	15,673	1,558	White.....	11,444	1,214
Jefferson.....	13,204	1,628			
Johnson.....	3,705	206			
Knox.....	18,807	2,193	Total.....	306,874	27,243

EASTERN KENTUCKY.

COUNTIES.	TOTAL POPULATION.	NUMBER OF SLAVES.	COUNTIES.	TOTAL POPULATION.	NUMBER OF SLAVES.
Breathitt	3,785	170	Letcher.....	2,512	62
Carter.....	6,241	257	Lewis.....	7,202	322
Clay.....	5,421	515	Morgan.....	7,620	187
Clinton.....	4,889	262	Owsley.....	3,774	136
Estill.....	5,785	411	Perry.....	3,092	117
Floyd.....	5,714	149	Pike.....	5,365	98
Greenup.....	9,654	606	Pulaski.....	14,195	1,307
Harlan.....	4,268	123	Rockcastle...	4,697	375
Johnson.....	3,873	30	Wayne.....	8,692	830
Knox.....	7,050	612	Whitley.....	7,447	201
Laurell.....	4,445	192			
Lawrence.....	6,281	137	Total.....	132,002	7,099

WESTERN NORTH CAROLINA.

Alexander....	5,220	543	Henderson....	6,853	924
Ashe.....	8,777	595	McDowal....	6,246	1,262
Burke.....	7,772	2,132	Macon.....	6,389	549
Buncombe....	13,425	1,717	Rutherford....	13,550	2,905
Caldwell....	6,317	1,203	Watauga.....	3,400	129
Catawba....	8,862	1,569	Wilkes.....	12,099	1,142
Cherokee.....	6,838	337	Yancey.....	8,205	346
Cleveland....	10,396	1,747			
Heywood.....	7,074	418	Total.....	131,023	17,518

WESTERN GEORGIA.

Cass.....	13,300	3,008	Lumpkin.....	8,955	939
Chatoga.....	6,815	1,680	Murray.....	14,433	1,930
Cherokee.....	12,800	1,157	Paulding.....	7,039	1,377
Floyd.....	8,205	2,999	Rabun.....	2,448	110
Forsythe.....	8,550	1,027	Walker.....	13,109	1,664
Gilmer.....	8,440	200			
Gordon.....	5,984	828	Total.....	118,973	18,137
Habersham...	8,895	1,218			

NORTH ALABAMA.

Blount.....	7,367	426	Randolph....	11,584	1,321
Cherokee.....	13,884	1,691	St. Clair.....	6,829	266
Hancock.....	1,542	62	Walker.....	5,124	936
Lawrence.....	14,088	2,292			
Marion.....	7,833	908	Total.....	77,097	8,770
Marshall.....	8,846	868			

ART. V.—THE GREAT DAY OF MANASSAS.

SINCE Xerxes was defeated and routed at Platea, no battle has been fought so dramatic in its preparation, its action and its results as that of Manassas. The objects of the contending forces were the same, the character of the forces the same. On the one side, the boastful denunciations, the luxurious prepara-

tions for anticipated easy victory, the manacles with which to bind prisoners, and all the pomp and parade of the camp—and, on the other, modest simplicity of manner, and firm resolve and devoted courage, were the same. As might be expected, the results were the same. The motley hosts of the North, made up of men speaking every language of Europe, and fighting, they knew not and cared not for what, were defeated, routed, driven in pell-mell panic and confusion, until their enemies were exhausted by the pursuit and the slaughter. Their arms, their chariots, their costly camp equipage, their wines and viands, and all the preparations for feasting after victory, became the prize of their adversaries. The States of the South, like the States of Greece, were men of one race, speaking one and the same language; inspired by one and the same lofty purpose and devoted patriotism, and resolved to drive the vulgar hordes of invaders from their soil, or perish in the attempt. Greece fought to maintain her liberty against those who came to subjugate her, and she succeeded most nobly in her effort. We did more. We fought to recover liberty, to establish independence, and to take our place abreast of the mightiest nations of the earth. When the news of our victory reaches Europe we shall be welcomed into the fraternity of nations, with the laurels we have won fresh upon our brow.

Xerxes sat under a pavilion on a lofty hill to witness the battle of Platea. Our Xerxes was not so chivalrous. He was ensconced in Washington—how employed no one knows. But he was well represented (out of striking distance) by a large portion of his Congress and a part of his Cabinet, who went to feast and not to fight; and as spectators of the combat and expected victory, were resolved to have a great frolic on the occasion. Besides, if Lincoln were not there, Governor Sprague was there (or thereabouts), in more than Persian magnificence, and with a vulgarity and cowardice that Sou-louque, of Hayti, or the King of Dahomey might have envied. Indeed, in this whole matter, whilst the Yankees have exhibited none of the taste and elegance of the Asiatics, they have equalled them in gormandizing and surpassed them in cowardice.

At the battle of Manassas, on the Yankee, mock-Persian side, there was much that was boastful, pretentious, gorgeous, cowardly and contemptible; but there was another side, where Davis, President of the South, with Spartan simplicity and Spartan courage, mixed in the melee, incurred all its dangers, and inspired courage, as well by his presence as by his example—a side where Beauregard and Johnston led on their troops with a skill and a valor rivalling Alexander at the Granicus, or Cæsar "that day he fought the Nervii." Our members of Congress, the great civilians of the South, were there too, but not as idle, distant spectators, or vulgar gormands, but to

take part in the fight, to share its dangers and participate in its honors. The gentlemen of the South were there, for our soldiers are all gentlemen, resolved "to do or die." And well did all discharge their parts. To attempt to discriminate between the merits of the Southrons, who fought at Manassas, would be as difficult and as invidious a task as to assign relative rank or precedence to each Spartan who fell at Thermopylæ. They were heroes all; and would have done more had the occasion required more.

As a spectacle, the battle of Manassas was as grand as any that has been fought, but we must include in that spectacle the defeat, the retreat, the flight, the rout, the panic, the confusion, the hot and murderous pursuit, the heat, the thirst, the hunger, and the fear and trembling in high places in Washington as the news of the disastrous result took the place of falsely reported victory. All America was spectator of the combat. Ere the pursuit and the slaughter were ended, the electric spark had borne the news to every corner of America, filling each honest Southern heart with pride and gratitude and exultation, and striking terror and dismay, and self-abasement into every Northern bosom.

But the drama does not end here. An expectant world awaited the issue of the battle. The starving operatives of Europe, her merchants, her bankers, her statesmen and her kings were impatient to know whether relief were to come to them through the boastful promises of the North, or the establishment of independent nationality of the South. Never were the interests of all mankind so wound up in the result of a battle as in the result of this. A kind, superintending Providence has guided this result for the common advantage of the human race.

The blockade of our coast will now be broken up, and the rich products of the South, the necessities of life everywhere, will again be borne on the wings of commerce to every corner of the earth. Business will revive, the poor get employment, good wages and cheap clothing; and the very savage will rejoice, as he glories in his cotton shirt and smokes his accustomed pipe, at a victory which has restored to him those enjoyments from which the blockade had excluded him. The battle of Manassas was fought and won for the good of all mankind.

No longer will the charge be made that a Southern clime and slave institutions enervate the master race. The delicately-reared planters of the South have met the rough hirelings and rude laborers of the North, and exhibited more of endurance, more of strength, and ten times as much of courage as they.

The whole South flew to arms with an alacrity and rapidity unexampled in the annals of history, and fought with a courage and a skill surpassing that ever exhibited by raw recruits before. We shall take position among the people of the earth as the most warlike nation of modern times, both in our industrial

organization, and in individual courage and prowess. First in war, we can show that we also surpass all other people in the arts of peace. That there is less of crime, less of pauperism, more universal plenty, more contentment, religion, morality and conservatism among us than anywhere. The growth and prosperity of America have heretofore been attributed to the enterprise of the North. Until the battle of Manassas made us distinct people, we had no opportunity to show that, cut off from us, the North is a boastful bully, a humbug, a charlatan and a pauper.

If we grow and prosper, and exhibit before the world the highest moral, political and religious qualities, we must attract attention and investigation to the peculiarities of our institutions which beget such prosperity and such high character; and especially will our republic be compared and contrasted with the North—already bankrupt in estate and in reputation.

As a result of the battle of Manassas, the two systems—the one, that ordained by God from Mount Sinai, and practised almost universally by man, whether Christian or Pagan; and that new experiment of pure democracy, of universal liberty and equality, which prevails at the North—will go into operation under the most favorable circumstances. If we succeed, if we continue to be as prosperous as now, as happy, contented, moral and religious as now; if our slaves, who are now happy, contented, true and loyal, who attended, like the Greek slaves, their masters at Manassas, and were ready and anxious to do battle in their behalf; if they continue to be the best conditioned laboring class in the world, mankind will slowly follow our example, unless the North quits its evil ways, provides for its starving laborers, gives up its free love, its socialism, anarchy, and infidelity, and excels us in prosperity, morality and Christianity. If each section continues to exhibit itself before the world in its present condition, the truth of the Bible will be vindicated; men will see that slavery is a divine institution, and it will be re-established the world over. Thus the grand drama of Manassas will end by vindicating the truth of Christianity, and “justifying the ways of God to man.” On the contrary, if we fail, and the North succeeds, the Bible will be falsified; Christianity now tottering to its fall in free society will perish from the earth, and—but we will not develop the results of an impossible hypothesis.

We have assumed all along that the battle of Manassas determines the fate of the war and secures our independence. Not only has this battle demoralized and disorganized the federal army, which is returning home (as its term of service expires) much faster than raw and worthless recruits came in their places, but it has also divided and demoralized the Cabinet, the Congress, the press and the people of the North. The war is virtually ended, for the Federal Government can get

neither men nor money to prosecute it farther, except spasmodically.

Nor do we doubt what will be the respective destinies of the Democracy of the North and the Republic of the South. The former will prove to be the most contemptible and odious government, or rather anarchy, in all Christendom. The latter, the bright exemplar and model government of the world. Slowly, but surely, its institutions will be imitated; society will return, in all countries, to its natural historical and biblical form, never again to be disturbed by rash experiment; and thus the drama of Manassas will continue to be enacted to "the last syllable of recorded time."

Taken with all its attendants, its action and its consequences (for we speak not doubtfully of those consequences), and the battle of Manassas is the greatest that has been fought in modern times; nay, greater and more momentous than all the battles and all the wars of modern times. The Crusades lasted near two hundred years, and yet it is matter of everyday curious speculation, what consequences they produced, or whether they produced any. To them, after a while, succeeded the religious wars, throughout half of Europe, between Catholic and Protestant, which, with varying successes, continued for more than two centuries. Neither party was victorious, the numbers of neither were diminished, the career of neither sect was injured or promoted, and they stand now in relative strength and numbers precisely as they did when those wars began.

The wars waged by Bonaparte, the most sanguinary in the annals of history, were ridiculously inconsequential. After keeping all Europe in turmoil, and conquering half of it—after expending more human gore, more money and more gunpowder than ever were expended before, he is caught and sent to St. Helena, and in a few months everything in Europe subsides to the "*status quo ante bellum*."

The battle of Manassas, we repeat it, is the most dramatic event of modern times. The anniversary of the 21st July will be the day of the great national festival of the Southern Republic so long as that republic lives. "*Esto perpetua*." Deeds are better than words, however brave, and the battle of Manassas a more soul-stirring event than the Declaration of Independence. Those who fought in it will "gentle their condition," and speak more exultingly of their feats than Henry V in anticipation of the history of Agincourt:

"He that outlives this day, and comes safe home,
Will stand a tip-toe when this day is named,
And rouse him at the name of Crispian.
He that shall live this day, and see old age,
Will yearly on the vigil feast his friends,
And say, to-morrow is Saint Crispian:

Then will he strip his sleeve, and show his scars,
 And say, these wounds I had on Crispian's day.
 Old men forget; yet all shall be forgot,
 But he'll remember, with advantages,
 What feats he did that day: Then shall our names,
 Familiar in their mouths as household words,
 Harry the king, Bedford and Exeter,
 Warwick and Talbot, Salisbury and Gloster,
 Be in their flowing cups freshly remembered:
 This story shall the good man teach his son;
 And Crispin Crispian shall ne'er go by,
 From this day to the ending of the world,
 But we in it shall be remembered;
 We few, we happy few, we band of brothers;
 For he to-day that sheds his blood with me
 Shall be my brother, be he ne'er so vile,
 This day shall gentle his condition,
 And gentlemen in England, now abed,
 Shall think themselves accursed they were not here,
 And hold their manhood cheap, while any speaks
 That fought with us upon Saint Crispian's day."

Henry V, act 4, scene 3.

ART. VI.—OUR DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN RELATIONS.

—————"Glamis, and Cawdor
 Thou art, and shalt be what thou art promised!"—*Macbeth.*

A SINGLE glance at the map of America will suffice to show the Confederate States to be possessed of the future seat of empire of the Western Continent. Comprising a geographical area extending from the twenty-sixth to the thirty-sixth degree of north latitude, and stretching from the Atlantic ocean to the Rocky mountains, with a soil, climate and productions rivalling in variety, richness and number the treasured wealth of the most favored tropical zones, and inhabited by a population grandly endowed, and rendered homogeneous by identity of ideas, pursuits, interests and institutions, the Confederate republic can no otherwise than look to a future lying along a splendid and inviting path of empire and unparticipated power. The Southern Delta alone contains all the elements of a powerful nationality, while the Mississippi is destined to revive the proud civilizations of the Nile and the Indus.

But all these physical advantages, and all these appliances and conditions of an unexampled material progress, howsoever wonderful and conspicuous, and howsoever essential to the attainment of a complete and well-proportioned national greatness, compose but a feeble and inconsiderable part of those grand and controlling influences that impart to the genius of Southern society a thorough individuality, and invest all its splendid movements and exertions with the attributes of majesty and power. Causes, moral and intellectual; influences, social and political; forces, spiritual and æsthetic; broader,

deeper, intenser in their operation than the mere action of climatic or topical laws, and resulting in the formation of opinions, sentiments and convictions, original, distinct and unparticipated, have built up and consolidated into vital, organic form a body of political doctrine and a system of social arrangement such as the history of human association has never recorded. These are the elements, these the forces that have placed the sceptre of empire and dominion in the hands of the Southern republic, and decreed it a future of durable greatness, grandeur and power. If there be not a profound and eternal significance in institutions, an indestructible force and energy in the principle of Race, then has the Southern patriot drawn the sword in vain, and no degradation can it be deemed to seek to shelter our large honors beneath the merciful despotism at Washington!

The political philosophy of these Southern commonwealths has never accepted the principle of Individualism as the basis of the social system, but has conformed its whole theory and practice to the modifying power of institutions controlling the action of social laws, and subordinating even governments and constitutions themselves to their paramount, sovereign authority. Individualism they hold to be synonymous with Multitudinism or majority power, whose invariable and inevitable tendency is to the establishment of a consolidated, numerical despotism; whilst the genius of Institutionalism is to guard against the exercise of arbitrary power, by vesting minority interests with a negative action upon the mere brute force of numbers. Fortified behind this impregnable bulwark of conservative opinion and self-acting institutions, and upholding alone in the West the grand fabric of constitutional liberty, the Confederate Government presents, before the world, the novel spectacle of independent commonwealths coalesced in arms in vindication of their nationality against a foreign usurpation, claiming jurisdiction over them by the authority of a broken and violated *compact*!

But the controversy is concluded; the sword has been invoked, and on the morrow, with conquering banner, comes the long-delayed Southern restoration. And whilst yet the star of the Confederate nationality rises, through gathering war-clouds, in the East—to witness the last expiring rays of the once splendid constellation that glittered to the name of the American Union, departing in the West—the eye of speculation runs along the future path of the young republic, and fixes itself on those grand points of departure, that must date epochs, in the march of empire, and notch the centuries with imperishable memorials of the policy and arms of the Cavalier rule.

Four regularly organized governments, representing, each, a distinct type of polity, and embodying separate and antagonist forms of civilization, exist on the North American Continent—

The Viceroyalty of Canada, the Puritan Autocracy at Washington, the Castilian Oligarchy of Mexico, and the Confederate Republic of the South. Numbering four now, the lapse of a half century will find surviving only two. The Norman, dwelling beyond the great Northern lakes, will, by an inevitable destiny, absorb the Saxon families of the Penobscot, the Hudson and the Ohio; and the beautiful gardens of the Hesperides, lying beyond the Nueces and the Sierra Madre, will open their enchanted gates and voluptuous bowers to the warrior race dwelling round the tombs of Washington and De Soto. The seat of British empire will be transferred from the Thames to the St. Lawrence; and Montreal, commanding the trade of the great West, and connecting the St. Lawrence, by railroad communication across the Rocky mountains, with the Columbia river, will establish a great highway across the continent, and have emptied into its lap the vast commerce of the East Indies, China and Japan. British statesmanship has been long, secretly and profoundly occupied with this magnificent scheme; but the grand and indispensable condition precedent to its consummation has been *the possession of the Columbia river!* That tributary belongs to the United States; how obtain it? To such as are familiar with the narrow and crooked ways of State-craft and diplomacy, a ready answer to the interrogatory is to be found in the Oregon and Central American questions.

These controversies were forced upon the old United States Government by the Ashburton and Palmerston administrations, with the secret and ulterior design of precipitating a war between the two countries, in the hope of securing possession of the Columbia, as indemnity, by treaty. But Mr. Polk and Mr. Pierce declined taking up the gauntlet England had thrown down, and the consequence has been that she still holds Vancouver's island by right of occupancy, and persists in maintaining, agreeably to her own construction of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, the protectorate of the Mosquito coast. This practical abandonment of the Monroe doctrine had the effect of increasing, immensely, the pretensions of the British government, and it would, doubtless, have early sought a pretext for carrying out its ambitious designs, had not a domestic question of vast importance—and overshadowing in magnitude all others, *aut domi, aut mititiæ*—risen, to give a new and threatening aspect to American affairs. The statesmen of England clearly saw that the agitation of the slavery question would eventuate, sooner or later, in an inevitable disruption of the Federal Union, and therefore preferred to remain perfectly quiescent and allow the two hostile sections to bring about the very results Great Britain so earnestly desired, and which, under other circumstances, would have cost her untold sums, but now not involving the slightest sacrifice on her part. With that intensely selfish, grasping, prudential and calculating policy

that has ever marked the temper of the British government, it has, heretofore, in sympathy at least, leaned toward the North in all the controversies that have arisen between it and the South. It sympathized with and gave aid to the Abolition movement in the Northern States—not, indeed, through any conscientious scruples it possessed touching the moral bearings of the slavery question, but simply as a means of breaking down the monopoly of the cotton trade enjoyed by the South, through the contemplated emancipation of the African laborers employed in the production of the great Southern staple. But the East India cotton-growing experiment failed, and with it died all motive of hostility toward the South as a *section*; but the Cabinet of St. James ceased not to dream, ambitiously, of levelling the Rocky mountains, extending the Grand Trunk railway westward from Chicago, and transforming Astoria into a grand entrepôt of trade on the Pacific coast.

The disruption and disintegration of the North American Union was, therefore, looked upon as an event most auspicious to the realization of this magnificent project, by the occasion it would afford of taking advantage of the weakness resulting from division, and thus securing a great result without resorting to any other means than the employment of a little Norman diplomacy. And now that the long-looked for divorce—violent in its happening and eternal in its duration—has been finally consummated, the question arises, what effect will the dismemberment have upon the foreign relations of the Confederacy? What part, active or passive, will England take in the new complications on this side of the water? It may be safely assumed that, through a superior regard for the sanctions of international comity, no European power will enter into relations, either commercial or political, with the Confederacy till the insolent Cabinet at Washington shall have been made to appreciate and acknowledge the inexorable logic of a few decisive Southern victories. Then the young republic will emerge from the chrysalis condition of an innominate, *de facto* government, and bound into the higher and completer life of a recognized, *de jure* polity. Then England will openly disclose her policy, and, following the polarity of her interests, push forward, with energetic arm, her ambitious transatlantic project. It is needless to say that she will anticipate Prime Minister Seward in his avowed design of appropriating the Canadas, and take immediate possession of Oregon, as the initial link in a future chain of conquest, to comprise all that territory now known as the United States of America. Premier Seward has certainly discovered a plenteous lack of closet wisdom in this grandiloquent avowal of his. It was, to say the least of it, exceedingly impolitic, wonderfully indiscreet, and perhaps somewhat absurd. There are no Pyrennees between Montreal and

New York—only the River St. Lawrence, and that spanned by the Victoria bridge.

If Mr. Seward had consulted General Scott before giving utterance to this violent menace against the majesty of Great Britain, the Lieutenant-General would, doubtless, have informed the Premier that hard battles have, in times gone, been fought on the Canada frontier, and that it would be no easy achievement for a fourth-rate power to obtain and hold possession of the mouth of the St. Lawrence, even although that power should be the United States of America. There is evidently but one way by which the Secretary can retrieve his egregious error, and, by a bare possibility, hope to effect the subjugation of his "revolted provinces;" and that can only be achieved by the sacrifice of the federal nationality. Let him obtain the ear of Viscount Palmerston, and with subtle insinuation, softly whisper—"Viceroyalty!"—"Protectorate!" then, "Oregon!"—"Southern Cotton Fields!"—"Mexico!" Will he do it? Not till he has broken all his rods, and finds his "provinces" still contumacious and defiant; not till the Confederate banner shall float from the dome of the federal capitol, and the conquering columns of the Southern army of invasion shall penetrate into the heart of the enemy's country, and threaten the strong citadels of his power. A coalition between Seward and Palmerston, looking to Southern subjugation, and stimulated and cemented by the promise of the Columbia and Astoria, would be formidable indeed; but how would the English Premier be likely to receive the proposition? He would, doubtless, intimate, that the Government of Her Britannic Majesty is not desirous of increasing its colonial possessions—has, in fact, too many dependencies already, and would delicately hint that, possibly, there might be some difficulty in keeping terms with a people whose past history has been little else than a record of broken treaties, violated laws and disregarded compacts.

The possession of the Pacific slope would be a very desirable acquisition to the Lord Premier's Government; but why purchase, at the cost of more permanent and solid advantages, the fee-simple to a princely domain, when the natural course of events will bring it into possession as a voluntary offering? Yes, Oregon would be desirable, simply because no "Emigrant Aid Societies" had yet peopled it with a lawless and mercenary tribe of Roundheads; but beyond the mountains, looking toward the Atlantic, there was nothing to tempt the appetite of power, not even a "Protectorate" over the United States of America! Besides, no one better knows than Her Majesty's Chief Lord of the Treasury that the annexation of the Abolition Government to Canada would produce a complication in European politics, by this threatened disturbance of the "balance of power," that the British Government would be very far from wishing to encounter. France would rush to arms, and

immediately propose an offensive and defensive league with the Government at Richmond, which would effectually checkmate Secretary Seward in his British protectorate scheme. But the American Premier (who knows?) may have some deeply laid plan, whose unfolding will astound the Cabinets of Christendom.

The Secretary enjoys some reputation for craft, reticence and profound dissimulation; and there may be something portentous and ominously significant in those mysterious utterances touching the possession of the St. Lawrence! Is Lord Palmerston well assured of the unshaken and unimpeachable loyalty of her Majesty's Canadian dependency? No Orangemen there; no disaffected party? Quite sure the Prince of Wales met on his recent visit to the province no demonstrations of disloyalty and disaffection? No regiments raised in Canada for secret service in the States? Look to it, Lord Palmerston; you have a deeper and more vital concern in this American question than your Lordship is either willing or prepared to admit. Your Lordship's Government is formally notified that, should it, in any way, attempt to interfere with the *quasi* blockade of the Southern ports, or, in conformity with international usage, venture upon a recognition of the Confederate Government, this, its rightful and legitimate action, will be construed into an open declaration of war; and that, if the Mississippi is torn from the grasp of the Federal Government, it will indemnify itself by appropriating the St. Lawrence. Does there exist in Canada a revolutionary party sufficiently strong to overthrow the government, and hand the province over to the authority at Washington? If there be, then it is upon the support of that party that Mr. Seward is basing his calculations, when he gives intimation of these deeply meditated designs upon a neighboring power. It will be altogether a matter of calculation with Great Britain what course she shall pursue. The dilemma is a perplexing one, but the preponderating force of the most vital and controlling interest will point out the true line of action. England is called upon to withhold her recognition of the Confederacy under the penalty of the forfeiture of Canada; and then, again, the failure to extend this recognition will result in transferring to the pauper list of the realm six millions of operatives, by the shutting off of the cotton supply from the blockaded ports. Would this statement not seem to indicate that she had a vital interest in the issue of the pending struggle? What will be her course? If she be confident of the loyalty of her Canadian subjects she will have but little to apprehend from any threats emanating from the Government at Washington, and can continue to indulge, undisturbed, her splendid vision of a pathway across the continent, without turning aside to inquire what amount

of anti-British animosity lies behind the United States blockading squadron.

* But, if Mr. Seward has really laid his hand on the mane of the Canadian lion, and succeeded in harnessing it to the Juggernaut car of the abolition despotism, then will a new phase be given to the complications in America; and England, in order to retain possession of her American province, will strike hands with the Black Republican autocracy, and put, as it imagines, a speedy termination to the Southern "rebellion," by a non-recognition of the Confederacy, in the confident expectation all the while of having her cotton mills supplied by the reopening of the Southern ports early in December, by the occupation of Norfolk, Charleston and New Orleans by the Northern army of invasion.

This is, doubtless, Mr. Seward's calculation; but if Canada be loyal, the Southern Government will receive recognition from Great Britain as soon as Manchester wants cotton, or the Confederate banner waves over Washington. An early reception into the family of nations is highly important to the Confederacy, inasmuch as it will have a material bearing upon the character and duration of the present struggle, while the establishment of diplomatic and commercial relations with the leading European powers will place the Confederate Government in a situation more favorable to a successful employment of its offensive and defensive resources, and, at the same time, tend to bring about a speedy restoration of peace. Peace, if possible, must be re-established sooner or later, but only by an unqualified acknowledgment of the independence and nationality of the Southern Government; and the sooner the recognition come, the sooner will the Government at Washington be made to comprehend the absolute folly of attempting to maintain the attitude it has assumed toward these Confederate States.

The European Governments having established among themselves certain recognized standards by which to determine the question of *de facto* or *de jure*, are patiently waiting to see what turn affairs in America are likely to take, being unwilling to prejudice, by precipitate action, the claims of a recognized power. As yet, the invader has not been driven beyond the Potomac; Arlington Heights bristle with federal bayonets; Richmond and Memphis are immediately threatened; the Federal Congress have voted a large war appropriation; and, therefore, till the order come—"to advance," there will be but little ground upon which foreign powers can deem themselves justified to act. The first step toward "recognition" must come from Richmond. An advance upon, a reduction, and a permanent occupation of Washington would bring to the Government at Richmond an ambassador from every European court, and establish a Confederate consulate at every foreign port. But, not more certainly will the European powers ex-

tend, than will the Federal Government withhold, a recognition of the Confederate States; and even though the blockade of the Southern ports be raised by foreign intervention, the Abolition Government at Washington will not for that cease to carry on active hostilities by land; and not till the strongholds of its power are shaken by the thunders of the Southern coalition; not till a vigorous, *aggressive* policy shall be made to succeed to the masterly inactivity of merely *defensive* operations, will the enemy incline to pacific counsels, and entertain the proposition of an honorable adjustment. The peace, if it come at all, must be *conquered*. Southern independence, if achieved, must date its commencement from the complete overthrow and destruction of the abolition power.

This conflict records the numerical array of twenty against twelve millions, including Kentucky, Maryland and Missouri (who will come when Washington falls); but when the estimate is to be made in armed men, ready for the field, the proportion stands as two millions against one million eight hundred thousand; and even this disparity of two hundred thousand bayonets is more than compensated by the possession of moral forces that outweigh mere numbers. An advance upon the enemy's lines, and the seizure of his capital is, therefore, without doubt, the policy already decided upon by the Cabinet at Richmond. The movement would have powerful effect abroad (the only quarter desired to be impressed), and would be attended, at once, by consequences the most important and gratifying. The reduction of Fortress Monroe, the investment of Fort McHenry, or the occupation of Fort Pickens, although infinitely more important, in a military point of view, would not carry with it one tithe the prestige that would result from the capture of Washington. The capital of a nation is always regarded as the seat of its majesty and power, and its loss is recognized as an evidence of national humiliation, defeat or overthrow.

The grand army of the empire, under its great captain, conquered Europe by the reduction of its proud capitals; the march was not against Smolensko, but Moscow; not Cadiz, but Madrid; not Olmutz, but Vienna; and, when the allied powers triumphed at Waterloo, there was no attempted reduction of Cherbourg fortress, but an immediate march upon Paris. Wherefore has Washington been strongly fortified, and Philadelphia and Cincinnati left unprotected? The loss of the federal city would be the death-blow to the abolition despotism; and, as it is from that event alone that the Confederate nationality will, in the estimation of foreign nations, begin to draw the breath of life as a recognized *de jure* government, there is every reason to believe that the army of the Potomac will not be long permitted to remain an "army of observation," but will be made one of "occupation;" and, when the

line of march is taken up, the direction and destination will be Washington city.

The forbearance heretofore displayed toward the enemy, by the administration at Richmond, has been suggested by the highest considerations of policy and humanity. True, Pickens was a standing menace against the majesty of the republic; true, the blockade assailed vital interests; true, the columns of the invader have effected a passage of the Potomac, and the soil of Virginia has been moistened by the blood of her children; but the sublime composure and serenity of conscious power, reposing on the strength of a just cause, and restraining the uplifted arm till the consummation of that last indignity that adds injury to insult, should decide the moment when to let fall the blow; would strike the world by the moral grandeur of the spectacle presented, and immediately elicit and receive that generous sympathy and support, from the leading Christian powers, that lofty natures never fail to award to the exhibition of grand, heroic and self-sacrificing qualities. A simple conviction and assurance, on the part of the European Cabinets, of the ability of the Confederate republic to achieve and maintain its independence, without being first called upon to afford positive demonstration of the fact by a successful and sanguinary struggle, will, of itself, bring the desired recognition, and force the federal administration into a possible acknowledgment of the Confederate nationality. France acknowledged the independence of the American colonies long before the battles of Monmouth, Trenton and Yorktown were fought; and it would be violating no principle of international law for the foreign governments to pursue a similar course toward the Confederate States. Nor did Greece, Mexico, or the South American republics have to fight their way to recognition over fields of desolation and slaughter. In view of these facts, then, let the murmurs of impatience and dissatisfaction, that have been directed against the administration, be silenced.

The delay presents the opportunity, and may by them be improved, of acquainting the foreign powers with the strength and resources of the republic; and if they find these to be sufficient to justify a recognition, it will be granted, and have the immediate effect of throwing the entire odium of the war upon the Washington administration should it be insane enough, in the face of an established *res adjudicata*, to still persist in a prosecution of hostilities. But if it be that these powers fail to discover the real magnitude of the forces underlying the Southern movement of independence, and demand some stronger evidence of the ability of the Cavalier to achieve what he has undertaken, than the ascendancy he has already maintained for more than eighty years in the conduct and administration of the government which he has but recently repudiated, then

will the order "to advance" be given; and Southern genius will vindicate, before the world, that same supremacy in arms which it has heretofore established in policy and statesmanship.

ART. VII.—THOUGHTS SUGGESTED BY THE WAR—THE PAST AND THE FUTURE.

SEEING that our Union, which, for a long while, we deemed the model government of the world, has only lasted eighty-five years, men anxiously ask themselves how long will our Southern Confederacy endure? "Outside pressure" brought together and preserved our Union. Though never strictly a government, it was, like all governments, a natural outgrowth. The necessities and exigencies of the times brought it into being, and it lasted just so long as those necessities and exigencies continued. It subserved its purpose and then perished. It preceded the Constitution, and was in full life and vigor for five or six years prior to the Articles of Confederation, which were not finally adopted until 1781. Suffering the same wrong and oppression from a common enemy, we combined together and fought together to win independence; and, too weak to stand alone after victory, we remained together, in order to preserve that independence. The (so-called) Constitution, in its equivocal terms, invited the larger section to oppress the smaller, and the latter, feeling itself aggrieved, and strong enough to assert and maintain its separate independence, has thrown off the yoke of the other section and formed a separate Confederacy. This Confederacy will last so long as its existence is expedient and necessary. The outside pressure will be so great in consequence of the vicinity of powerful nations opposed to our social institutions, that much internal maladministration will be submitted to before a rupture of the Confederacy will ensue. Our peculiar social institutions beget an inside necessity for union, which, combining with the pressure from without, will be sure to preserve our compact quite as long as it continues to be useful or expedient. The weaker the written bonds that bind us together, the more lasting will be our union, because, if our Confederate agent or government be invested with but little power or patronage, it will be less apt to attempt aggression than if it be clothed with much. It was the apparent strength of the Federal Union that occasioned its downfall. Its real strength consisted in the necessities and utilities which begat and continued it, and was not derived from the written provisions of the Constitution.

Mr. Calhoun was the foremost statesman of his age, and had like to have discovered that the American term "Constitution" is a gross perversion of the English language, and the asser-

tion of a fact which never did and never can exist. "Government," says Mr. Calhoun, "is of divine origin;" "Constitution is the contrivance of man." Mr. Calhoun committed the mistake, which all Americans have indulged in until very recently, that written constitutions were something more than ordinary statute law, "something new under the sun," a wonderful American discovery or invention in the moral world.

Written constitutions are not constitutions at all, but mere statute law, and not organic law: for nature and divinity, which make government, organize it and give it its constitution. If government be of divine origin, it follows that constitutions or organic laws are of divine origin, for there can be no government without its organism or constitution, any more than a man without a constitution. Law, or (what is the same) American written constitution, stands toward government precisely as manures, in cultivation, stand toward plants, or food and physic toward man. They aid it in its operations, but do not and cannot create it. Man can no more make the real constitution of a State, than he can make the constitution of a horse. We Americans forgot the philosophy of the ancients, especially of Aristotle, and presumptuously attempted to make government out and out. The thing has exploded at Washington, as it will ever explode again. Men can, however, form leagues or compacts, and the federal compact might have lasted forever under Democratic construction and Democratic rule, which always considered and treated it as a mere league. It fell when it attempted to play the part of government, being truly a mere compact or agency.

The very moment any administration mistakes the Southern Confederacy for a government proper, and attempts to exercise all the powers of government, that moment will be its last, or at least the beginning of its downfall.

The Germanic Confederacy, and the Swiss Republic or Confederacy, will long outlive the Russian Empire. Diversity of races and want of outside pressure will, ere long, cause that great empire to fall to pieces; but not, we hope, until it has fulfilled its mission and introduced and spread a higher civilization and a superior race throughout the north of Europe and Asia. The German and Swiss Confederacies have probably, in some form, existed, with slight suspensions, from time immemorial. Nature divides Switzerland into small cantons, and nature dictates a league between these cantons for mutual defence. The imperfect confederacy of ancient Greece grew out of the same necessities.

Outside pressure will preserve the German and Swiss Confederacy (for they are surrounded by nations more powerful than themselves), and the want of it will occasion the Russian Empire to fall to pieces.

Our peculiar social institutions will insure us abundance of

external pressure, and, besides, beget an internal necessity for conservatism and avoidance of change and revolution. We see every reason to hope and expect that our Confederacy will last as long as any other Government whatever, provided we introduce no foreign and conflicting elements. We must annex no free States, and expel from among us any State that does not tolerate and legalize domestic slavery. Not only the North, but East Tennessee and North-western Virginia, are now teaching us useful lessons on this subject.

Difference of race is as sure to produce discord as difference of social institutions. Foreign immigration must not be admitted more rapidly than it can be absorbed and assimilated.

People of different races, or different national origin, always hate each other, and fight each other, too, if they can get a chance, simply because it is natural so to do. We must not conquer Mexico, because we should introduce not only different, but very inferior races. Nor must we conquer Cuba, because besides introducing a new race, we should weaken the slave power, by making Spain, now the upholder of slavery, one of its bitterest enemies. Besides, we should encourage Spain and France to strengthen their hold on the West Indies, where England is already too strong, and where the Federal Union will be sure to endeavor to get a firm foothold. Spain should conquer St. Domingo, and France the balance of Hayti, and thus no one power would command the passage across the Isthmus, but like the ocean, it would be kept free and open as a passway for all nations. Above all, we must abjure the Monroe doctrine, and establish the balance of power system in America as it exists in Europe—Brazil, our Confederacy, the Federal Union, France, England and Spain are the natural parties to this system, and, no doubt, will naturally and without preconcert adopt it. In Europe, it preserves peace, enforces national morality, and prevents the oppression of weak nations by more powerful ones. It will have the same effect here, and especially restrain the greedy, grasping, annexation spirit of the North.

When we show to Europe that we are satisfied with the present extent of our territory, and would not increase it for fear of introducing new and conflicting elements into our population; when we satisfy them that we not only abjure the Monroe doctrine, but are anxious that other nations of high civilization should get foothold in America, in order that we may establish here a balance of power as it exists in Europe, we shall at once command the respect and friendship of all Christendom. This friendship will be greatly enhanced, too, from the fact that our agricultural products are everywhere the necessities of life, and that we propose to trade on the most liberal terms with all the people of the world. The North, in fact, is making war on all the world, seeking to deprive them

of the necessities of life by excluding them from the Southern market, which she proposes to monopolize.

She would first subjugate and enslave us, and then swindle all Europe. Her Morrill tariff would operate to enhance the price of our cotton, tobacco, rice and other agricultural products about thirty per cent. in the European markets, which would pass over as a bounty or premium into the pockets of her manufacturers.

European nations might very properly aid us and arrest the arm of the North in its rogue's expedition against the South, simply to prevent the perpetration of injustice, dishonesty and iniquity; but when they see that the blow ostensibly aimed at us is really directed at them also, they will be derelict in duty to themselves if they do not intervene, command and enforce the peace, and compel the recognition of our independence.

The Northern blockade is rapidly diversifying the industrial pursuits, and increasing the wealth and the strength of the South; but if respected, it will in four months bring ruin and privation on many millions of merchants, capitalists and operatives in Europe. The North is the enemy of the human kind, a pirate or an Ishmaelite, whose hand is against every man; for all now use the products of our Confederacy, and if deprived of them, all, whether rich or poor, civilized or savage, will suffer together. Our cause is the cause of mankind, because we propose to open our ports to the whole world, and to sell them on cheap terms all the prime necessities of life. So good a cause must finally prevail.

Although we have tried to reflect maturely, we are writing rapidly, and pass from a subject without exhausting it, to take up another. We must recur to the distinction between governments proper, and unions, leagues, compacts or confederations of states or nations.

The parties to the first are individuals, the parties to the latter class, states or nations. The first possess general and sovereign power; the latter class are mere agencies, with special and limited powers. No form of words, no constitutional compacts, can change the nature of either. If the union, agency or confederacy, be clothed with sovereign power, it becomes a government proper, and the states or nations, or parties to the compact cease to exist as such, and become consolidated into one common mass of people subject to a single government. In practice, however, this can never be effected, for the separate States having grown up as such, and possessing all the offices, parts, functions, institutions and organism of nations, with distinct, common and statute laws, and a people and territory of their own, must of necessity exercise sovereignty, and act as nations; whilst the pretended superior government having neither a people or a territory, and few of the institutions and little of the organism constituting government

proper, will fail and fall to pieces so soon as it attempts to exercise the sovereignty with which it is, on paper, but not in fact, invested.

Governments and confederacies alike grow up by imperceptible degrees, and no one can recur to their birth or trace their growth. Individuals unite together in society from natural impulse, and not from contract or preconceived arrangement. Laws should but give expression and enforcement to man's natural relations and duties. Small States unite together in the same way, and for mutual defence and enforcements. Constitutions or compacts that violate the natural relations of States, soon become as inoperative as laws that contravene the natural relations of individuals. At first view it may seem to the inconsiderate that, in exchanging the Monroe doctrine for the European system of the balance of power, in inviting European nations into America, instead of pompously undertaking to exclude them, we are succumbing and falling from our high estate. We think very differently. Extended empire is unnatural, and soon begets dissolution and decay. Nations, like individuals, become enervate, effeminate, indolent and characterless, when the necessity for exertion, of watchfulness, of energy, of providence, fortitude, courage and industry, ceases to environ them. An easy life debauches man's nature. Rivalry and competition and imminent danger can alone keep men or nations up to their mettle. When we are surrounded with many powerful nations, each struggling to get the better of the other, and to excel each other as well in the acts of civilization as in the practice of war, we shall be urged on to continual improvement as well from national pride as from prudential considerations.

But, above all, the continual competition and rivalry and imminence of war from without will secure peace within, and bind our Confederacy together with hooks of steel. We must, besides, introduce other powers to balance and neutralize the growing power of the Federal Union. Its territory is enormous, and is rapidly filling up by immigration of the refuse population of Europe. It has no religious, moral, or political scruples to restrain it from criminal and roguish aggressions on its neighbors. The continued presence of superior force can alone check and control its dishonest proclivities. Cassius M. Clay has already threatened England with overthrow from the hundred millions of paupers and criminals that Europe will soon vomit forth upon the North. We must checkmate her by introducing the balance of power system instead of the Monroe doctrine, and by inviting the nations of Europe to America, instead of trying to exclude them. The presence of an inferior race amongst us of the South exerts an admirable influence in purifying, refining and elevating the character of our citizen. It gives to all a sense of privilege and superiority,

and induces them with dignity, self-respect and aristocratic bearing. It brings about as near an approximation to social equality as is practicable or desirable. Very few of any class are exempt from labor, but fewer still labor as menials. Men are not dependent on each other for their daily bread like the hirelings of the North, and hence the rich are not purse-proud and arrogant, nor the poor mean and subservient. Fashion makes almost the only social distinction, for in places of public resort, such as hotels, churches, court grounds, etc., our people associate on terms of entire social equality. It is the duty of the wealthy to live in a style somewhat proportioned to their means, and, as the poor cannot compete with them and reciprocate their hospitalities, it is but right and natural that fashion should beget social and visiting distinctions, wholly irrespective of merit. None but the envious, malicious and censorious will complain of such distinctions.

Men never like to unbend and let themselves down before their inferiors; to play Harlequin in presence of their children, or to be familiar with their slaves, or with those of any one else. Half of Southern life is passed in presence of slaves, and hence we become a somewhat reserved and dignified people. A superior caste avoids the manners and the meannesses of an inferior caste situated in its midst. Negroes are untruthful, thievish and cowardly, and the white men of the South, detesting the ways of the negro, are remarkable for truthfulness, honesty and chivalry. Domestic slavery has produced a more marked effect on the character of the Turk than on ours, because he has been longer a master. In manners, he is the most reserved, grave and dignified of mankind; in morals, the most honest and truthful.

The Turkish empire is tottering to its fall, although Turkish character has not degenerated. At all events, so late as the fifteenth century, the Turk had conquered great part of Asia and Europe, half of Spain, was master of Constantinople, and thundered at the gates of Vienna, whilst all Christendom quailed and trembled in his presence. He was then, as now, a slaveholder. The classic nations of antiquity were people of more pride and elevation of character, and possessed more personal courage than the moderns; because they were privileged men, with slaves and freed men beneath them. Slavery never did and never will enervate or enfeeble the character of the master race, but always elevates, refines and strengthens it.

In a society of universal liberty and equality no one sees anybody beneath him in privilege, or meaner and more contemptible than himself; and where there is no privileged hereditary aristocracy in such society, all men lose self-respect and become cowardly, vulgar and mean. They have nothing to look up to as an example to imitate, nothing to look down upon which they habitually avoid.

The administration at Washington, and the Confederate government in Richmond very well prove and exemplify our theories. The one is the coarse, vulgar, venal and corrupt outgrowth of universal liberty and equality. The other the refined, pure, upright and dignified result of domestic slavery. Lincoln and his cabinet are ridiculed, scorned and scoffed at by all Europe and America for their boastful pretensions, vulgarity, arrogance, mendacity and corruption. Lincoln is a mere buffoon, and his cabinet and foreign ministers are vulgar, pretentious, silly bigots. Yet they and their venal, profligate and corrupt Congress are the natural outgrowths and fit representatives of the society which they represent—a society in which free love, agrarianism, anarchy, spiritual rappings, licentiousness, infidelity and crime in every form abound, and from which religion and morality are well nigh banished.

Contrasted with this, how admirably appears the administration of our Confederacy. It is composed of men as remarkable for the purity of their morals and simplicity and elegance of their manners, as for their firmness, judgment and general intelligence. Their modesty equals their merit and tempers their dignity. Untiring industry, devoted patriotism and a Roman simplicity and frugality characterizes and distinguishes their lives. "They have won golden opinions from all sorts of people," and are equally respected at home and abroad. Their public action has been marked by a prudence, wisdom, firmness and liberality that has silenced the hypercritical spirit of abolition itself, commanded the warm approval of their fellow citizens, and elicited the respect and admiration of all Europe. Yet they are but Southern gentlemen, and we have thousands of such among us; just such gentlemen as Burke forewarned the British Parliament that domestic slavery always generates; simple, but proud and devoted men, like Fabricius, Cincinnatus and Scipio; like those who fell at Thermopylæ, or like the Barons who met and humbled the tyrant John at Runnymede. They are neither more nor less than appropriate samples, specimens and representatives of the society in which they have been reared and to which they belong.

Domestic slavery elevates the characters of all men. It does not purify all, but renders them less impure than they would otherwise be. It begets courage, liberality, generosity and hospitality. Free and equal society like that at the North puts men in competitive, hostile and antagonistic relations—makes men astute, sharp, cunning, envious, malignant, mean and cowardly. At the North men marry to get helps; and rear children to procure slaves—hence family affection is almost unknown among them, and wife murder, and parricide, and fratricide abound. The best exponent of the almost inconceivable meanness of such society is a senator who, chastised for his impertinence, exhibits his bruised head for the admira-

tion of a public among whom impertinence and cowardice are equally approved. To be caned, kicked or cowhided is a sure way to fame and fortune at the North.

Late and reluctant secessionists and disguised submissionists, with whom our society abounds here in Virginia, are eternally croaking about the weakness and effeminacy of the South, and strength, hardihood and courage of the North. It is these men who desire peace on any terms, who wish to renew trade and intercourse with the Yankee, to buy his vile notions, to hire his teachers, male and female, to encumber the mail with his contemptible literature and his swindling circulars, and to send their sons to his medical schools, to learn, dirt cheap, "murder as a fine art." These men are continually insisting that the Yankee has as much personal bravery and makes as good a soldier as the Southron. We do not believe that they think what they say. No quality depends so much on education as courage. From infancy the Yankee is taught to be a coward, and he learns to be a coward. He is taught to be a cheat and a knave and a hypocrite, and he never forgets his lessons. All men are afraid of dangers to which they are unused, and all men fearless of dangers to which they are accustomed. The Yankee is unused to guns, to horses and to fighting. He mounts a horse only to fall off, fights to get whipped, and fires guns over the heads of his enemies or into the ranks of his friends. He has neither the skill nor the courage to qualify him for a soldier. Before this article sees the light our portrait of him will be tested; and, we have no doubt, verified.

We are sorry that the Confederate Congress has raised the rate of postage within our own limits. We know enough of the mail to say, with confidence, that the aggregate amount of postage would be doubled by again reducing letter postage to three cents, where they do not weigh over half an ounce. We do not know what the law is as to unsealed circulars, but know that the federal law was as unmitigated a piece of villainy as ever cunning Yankee perpetrated, or good natured, easy, careless Southron ever overlooked.

We want neither books, letters, circulars, nor newspapers from the North, for they are all either immoral, swindling, or in some way noxious and deleterious. The postage on matter from the North should amount almost to prohibition. We must manufacture, at any cost, our own literature; for until we do, we shall have no Thought of our own, and, of consequence, no national character whatever.

The credit of the Federal Union and of our Confederacy are based upon the revenue of government, to be derived from the duties on imports, but as the imports are nothing but the returns for the exports, the amount of the revenue must depend altogether on the amount of the exports. The North will have

little or nothing to export hereafter, for it will require the surplus production of grain and meat of the North-west to supply the deficiency in the North-east. The South tells the capitalists of the world that, including tobacco, cotton and other agricultural products, we shall have a surplus to export of four hundred millions a year, and that our imports will be of equal amount; a duty on which of fifteen per cent., will yield a revenue of sixty millions. Besides, the planters are ready to lend their crops to our government, and as cotton and tobacco keep well, we shall soon have ample means to discharge any debt we may incur.

The North, however, through its most distinguished accredited agents, Lincoln, Seward, Dayton and Cassius M. Clay, makes a much grander exhibit of assets—if not “*in esse*,” at least “*in posse*”—if not “*in presenti*,” yet certainly “*in futuro*”—if not in possession, yet in sure and vested remainder. It loudly and lustily proclaims to the nations of the earth: “We mean to conquer the South, off-hand and without the slightest delay, and rob it of its cotton and tobacco and all other of its goods and chattels, and if you, Louis Napoleon, or any other crowned head presumes to doubt it, we shall take it as insult, for you ought to know better. When we steal these things, and steal them we most assuredly will, our duties being double those of the South, we shall have a revenue of one hundred and twenty millions a year.” Will capitalists lend us on the credit of our cotton and tobacco, who have it in possession, or prefer to trust Chase and Lincoln, who swear they are going to steal it. The pickpockets of London are such adepts in their business that they have raised larceny to the dignity of a fine art, and made the chances of success and profit a matter of such exact scientific calculation, that they find no difficulty in borrowing small sums of money from the lower class of Jews upon the credit of their future earnings. Lincoln and Chase are no doubt quite as willing and anxious to appropriate, as the aforesaid gentry, but can furnish no evidence of proficiency in their new calling; indeed, so far from being *experts*, they have up to this time not paid expenses. Scott may be holding back and training them; but they may rest assured that until they do better—steal at least enough cotton to make their own shirts and enough pig-tail for their own chewing—the Jews will not lend them a single red cent.

We should not fear defeats. They ruin an invading army, but often benefit the invaded. Victories, in the beginning of hostilities, beget false confidence and remissness in an invaded country. People will not turn out *en masse* after a victory as they often do after defeat. Frequent victories exhaust an invading army, and frequent defeats often strengthen their opponents. Phyrus, after three times defeating the Romans, exclaimed: “One more such victory and I am undone.” His

dearly-cost victories did at last ruin him, and he quit Italy in disgrace. Hannibal, the greatest general that ever lived, was exhausted and ruined by his many victories. Napoleon ditto. Peter the Great was the hero of defeats, and conquered Charles XII by standing whipping well. William of Orange, a much greater chieftain than Peter, was always defeated, but at length exhausted the wealth and power of France, and overcame the armies of Louis XIV by his dogged perseverance and elasticity in recovering from defeat. Washington, too, was often defeated, seldom victorious. That moral courage that sustains individuals or nations under defeat, and enables them again and again to rally their strength, is what constitutes true greatness. During the revolution, the English whipped us for seven years and exhausted their own strength by doing so. They did pretty much the same thing in the last war, and only made peace when they saw we "wouldn't stay whipped." Switzerland, Scotland, La Vendee, Wales, all invincible countries, have been remarkable for their defeats, and the readiness with which they recovered from them, rather than for their victories.

We ought to fight the Yankees every day, no matter what the disparity of numbers, and if we are whipped at first, all the better, because that will rouse up our people to exertion, whilst victory might sink them into false security and apathy. Every victory weakens our enemies, who gain it, for they have no means at hand to supply the losses and costs of victory. Every defeat will strengthen us, because ten of our citizens will rally to the rescue for each one that is slain in battle. Martinets may neither understand our theory nor credit it, but philosophic statesmen and learned historians will recognize and admit its truth and its practical application.

He who fears defeat will never win a victory. As yet, the foe but hovers on the border. The raid into north-western Virginia is no exception, for that section is abolitionized. We shall not be invaded, or if we are, let them who invade us remember Braddock, and Cornwallis, and Pakenham. We must attack them behind their entrenchments, and that speedily, in order to win from Europe recognition of our independence, and to relieve mankind from the dearth and famine that now afflict them.

ART. VIII.—THE PROPOSED EXPORT DUTY ON COTTON.

THE writer of a pamphlet, advocating the policy of an export duty on cotton, which we have, in some measure endorsed, or to which we have, at least, given currency by republishing it in the Review, maintains, with a great deal of elaborate ingenuity, that an export duty upon the crop of cotton exported

from the Confederate States, sufficient to bring into the treasury twenty millions of dollars, would fall principally, if not wholly, on the consumers of cotton fabrics; and, as our own people consume a very small part of the cotton fabrics of which we furnish the material, they would pay a proportionately small part of the tax. The omission of that clause of the Constitution of the United States, which withholds from the Congress the power of laying export duties, out of the Provisional Constitution of the Confederate States, and the actual imposition of a small duty on the exportation of cotton by the Provisional Congress, would seem to indicate very clearly that this writer is not singular in his views, but has, to some extent at least, the concurrence of others, whose position gives weight and efficacy to their opinions. It is, therefore, not a question of mere abstract speculation, but one of immediate practical importance, which it behooves all who are concerned in the management of public affairs, either as rulers or as citizens, whose rights and interests are to be affected, beneficially or injuriously, by the action of the government, to examine and consider with due care and circumspection.

The argument of the pamphlet assumes that "all writers and all intelligent commercial men agree that a tax, laid upon any article of commerce, must, sooner or later, settle itself either upon the producer or the consumer, or distribute itself between the two; that the condition of the market, as determined by the relation of demand and supply of the article, will, in great measure, if not altogether, determine which of these directions the tax will take. If the consumption be strong, and growing upon the production, the tax will settle upon the consumer. If, on the contrary, the production be in excess, and the demand feeble, any addition to the charges would fall upon the producer. Again, when supply and demand are pretty well adjusted, neither encroaching upon the other, producing what merchants call a healthy market of uniform prices, tending strongly neither downward or upward, such a tax will divide itself between the buyer and seller in proportions certain in themselves, but not positively ascertainable by any method of analysis yet known to political economy." It is, then, further assumed, as an admitted fact, that the consumption of cotton is not only now in advance of the production, but that the disparity is rapidly increasing. And the conclusion is drawn that, now and hence forward, so far as human foresight can penetrate the future, the duty will, by the operation of acknowledged principles of trade, be thrown upon the consumer.

It is, no doubt, true that the consumption of cotton is out-running the supply, and there is good reason to believe that this condition of things will endure for an indefinite time to come. So far, therefore, as the argument rests upon this fact, it is not

liable to objection, but its weak points are to be found in the antecedent positions which are assumed as postulates or admitted principles. We are not aware that the writers who are commonly regarded as the great masters of the science (if science it can be called), to which this discussion belongs, do concur in teaching these supposed postulates, or that any of the leading political economists have ever propounded them as fundamental or admitted principles; and if all intelligent commercial men agree in recognizing these principles, we do not know that they have anywhere expressed their conviction in an authentic form.

In our view these propositions, so far from being self-evident, seem to require demonstration quite as much as those which they are invoked to prove. There is, indeed, a principle or law of trade which all writers on these subjects, including the author of this pamphlet, and all intelligent commercial men do agree in recognizing, and that is, that prices are determined by the relation between supply and demand; that whenever the supply of any commodity is increased without a corresponding enlargement of the demand, the price falls; and whenever the supply is diminished without a corresponding diminution of the demand, the price rises; and conversely, if the demand is increased without a corresponding increase of the supply the price rises, and a diminution of the demand without a corresponding diminution of the supply causes the price to fall. We suppose it may be assumed, without fear of contradiction, that an export duty paid by the exporter will not be refunded to him unless, in consequence of the duty, the price of the article on which it is laid is raised in the foreign market at least as much as the amount of the duty. With these two postulates we may proceed to inquire whether an export duty on cotton will fall ultimately upon the producer or the consumer, or both, according to the existing condition of the market as influenced by other causes. If the duty made no change in the relation between the demand for cotton and the supply of it in the foreign market, it would not raise the price. There is surely no imaginable reason to suppose that it would increase the demand. Would it, then, operate to diminish the supply? There is only one way in which it could do this, and that is, by causing less cotton to be exported. If, notwithstanding the duty, the same quantity of cotton was exported as if there were no duty, the supply would not be diminished, the relation between the supply and the demand would not be changed, and the price in the foreign market would not be raised. If, then, the duty did raise the price of cotton in the foreign market, it would bring about that result by causing less cotton to be exported, and thus diminishing the supply. And this it might, and in all probability would ultimately do. But how and by what process

would it operate to reduce the supply? In no other way than by causing less cotton to be produced than if there was no duty; in other words, by diminishing the profits of the cotton culture, so as to discourage it and contract its extent, or, at least, to arrest or retard its further progress.

If the producers of cotton exported it themselves, the duty would of course be paid by them, and, unless it was returned in the form of an addition to the price for which the cotton was sold in the foreign market, would rest ultimately and permanently upon them. But we have seen that the duty would not raise the price in the foreign market, unless it first shortened the supply by diminishing the production and exportation of cotton. In the usual course of trade, cotton is not exported by the producers. They sell it in the home market to other persons, by whom it is purchased for exportation. But these purchasers, supposing them to have the knowledge and prudence requisite to qualify them for their business, will always, in adjusting the price to be paid for the article in the home market, take into account the price at which it may be sold in foreign market, and all the charges and expenses which must be incurred in order to lay it down there. The export duty, being one of these expenses, would operate to reduce the price of the article in the home market, just in the same way as the freight, or any other charge, and would, therefore, fall upon the producer no less than if he was himself the exporter. There seems to be no mode of evading the conclusion that an export duty on cotton cannot be thrown upon the consumer in any other way than by diminishing the supply, and thereby raising the price in the foreign market.

In discussions of this nature, it requires the closest observation and the strictest scrutiny to avoid confounding together the effects of totally different causes; and the argument of the pamphlet under consideration seems to present an example of this sort of confusion. One of the principles assumed, as admitted postulates, is: that "if the consumption be strong, and growing upon the production, the tax will settle upon the consumer."

Now, when it is said that the consumption of (or demand for) any article of commerce "is strong, and growing upon the production" (or supply), what else is affirmed than that from some cause, or causes, distinct from and independent of the supposed tax, the demand for the article is outrunning the supply, and the price, consequently, rising? Supposing some such independent cause to be in operation, the influence of which would be sufficient, in the natural course of things, to raise the price of cotton two cents a pound, then, if an export duty of one cent a pound had the effect of reducing the price paid to the producer just so much, there would still be a rise of one cent a pound; and careless, or superficial observers

might very aptly conclude that the duty was the cause of this rise, and was thus thrown upon the consumer. So, if the natural effect of other causes were to raise the price one cent a pound, and this was exactly neutralized by the duty, there would be no apparent change of price, and it would not be seen that the duty was really paid by the producer in the form of a reduction of the price received for his product. And if, while the effect of the duty was to depress the price one cent a pound, the influence of other causes, acting in the opposite direction, served to raise it only half as much, the burthen of the tax would seem to be equally divided between the producer and the consumer. Where a duty, or other tax, contributes, with other causes, to influence and determine the price of any commodity, it must always be extremely difficult, if not quite impossible, to ascertain with precision how much of the price is due to the tax, and how much to the other elements with which it is combined; but the duty certainly contributes whatever may be its share of the general effect by making some change in the relation between the supply and the demand.

It is sometimes said that we have a monopoly of cotton, and that this enables us to throw upon the consumers any charge which we may think proper to impose, within the limits of moderation. If we really had a monopoly, it would nevertheless still be true that we could not raise the price without diminishing the supply or increasing the demand; for that is a law of trade from which even monopolists are not exempt. But when our position with reference to the supply of cotton is called a monopoly, the word is used not according to its literal and proper meaning, but in a loose and figurative sense. To enjoy a monopoly is to have the sole and exclusive privilege of selling the article which is the subject of the monopoly. The monopolist being secure against all competition, has it in his power, by his single will, to regulate the supply of the monopolized article, and, by increasing or diminishing it, to raise or depress the price at his pleasure. With the same demand he may, by reducing the supply, so raise the price of the article as to receive the same return for a smaller quantity furnished at less cost, which he before received for a larger quantity furnished at greater cost, and his profits would of course be proportionably increased. In this sense we certainly have no monopoly of the supply of cotton. It is regulated by no one will. On the contrary, so far as we know, there is the freest and most unlimited competition among the producers of cotton all over the world. It is true that we have some great natural and other advantages by which we are enabled to produce cotton in greater abundance, of better quality, and at less cost than any other people; but there could not be a greater abuse of language than to call this a monopoly.

ly. In the same sense Cuba may be said to have a monopoly of the sugar trade, Brazil a monopoly of the coffee trade, and England a monopoly of the trade in woollen cloths, iron, salt, coal, and many other articles. Surely, this ability to undersell others, which results from superior natural advantages, so far from being a monopoly, is the very reverse. Is it not obvious that all reasonings founded upon so gross a misnomer must prove unsound and fallacious, and necessarily lead to false and mischievous conclusions?

Export duties as well as duties on imports, are always in some degree hindrances of foreign commerce, and, therefore, operate to impair or detract from the value of the domestic productions, which it is the province of foreign commerce to exchange for the productions of other countries. The extent to which duties produce this effect may be greater or less, according to their amount and the nature of the articles on which they are laid. Exports might be as completely arrested and prevented by duties sufficiently heavy as by an absolute embargo. But commerce is nothing else than exchange of values. It cannot be one-sided. Without exports there can be no imports; nor can there be exports without imports. Whatever, therefore, prohibits exports or imports, annihilates foreign commerce, and destroys the value of all those domestic products for which foreign commerce furnishes the demand and the outlet. What, for example, would be the value of all the cotton and other products which have hitherto been absorbed by the demand and consumption of other countries if our foreign commerce should be suddenly and permanently arrested? But if the total prohibition of foreign commerce would destroy the value of the domestic products which constitute the materials of that commerce, does it not stand to reason that its partial destruction or diminution must in some proportionate degree partially destroy or diminish the value of those products? Can it be supposed that duties, by which one-half or one-fourth of our foreign commerce should be cut off, would leave the value of our materials of export entirely unimpaired? Now, we have seen that export duties are not paid by the consumers, but by the producers (which necessarily implies a diminished value of the products), unless they cause a curtailment of exportation and production, and that such curtailment of exportation and production is a consequence of the diminished value of the products.

The cost of production of any article of commerce, understood in the full sense of the words, includes every charge which must be incurred before the article can be furnished or *produced* in the market of consumption. An export duty, where there is such a duty, is certainly one of these charges, and therefore contributes to swell the cost of production. Now, there is no principle of political economy more universally acknowledged

than that prices are regulated in the last resort by the cost of production. When the cost of producing a commodity is diminished, *ceteris paribus*, the price falls, and when the cost of production is increased, the price rises. But how and why do these consequences ensue? Is it not manifestly because a change in the cost of production effects a change in the supply? As the cost of production is diminished the supply is increased; and as the cost of production is increased the supply is diminished. Cheapness and abundance are always concomitants, and so are dearness and scarcity. We are now able to produce cotton in the market of the world at so much less cost than other people that our advantage in this respect is even called a monopoly, and yet it is proposed that we shall deprive ourselves of this advantage, at least in part, by laying an export duty on cotton.

The author of the pamphlet which has given occasion to this article, believing it to be sufficiently established that an export duty on cotton would be thrown upon the consumers, proceeds to show how the small share of the burthen which would fall to us as consumers of imported cotton fabrics might be compensated, and much more than compensated by abolishing the duties now laid on the importation of those fabrics. If it were true that an export duty on cotton would affect us only as consumers of cotton fabrics, the compensation proposed would be abundantly satisfactory; but if, on the contrary, the duty would affect us not merely as consumers of cotton fabrics but as producers of cotton, by impairing the value of the product, then the remedy would fall very far short of the extent of the mischief.

In the fiscal year ending on the 30th of June, 1857 (which is selected only because it is the last year for which we have been able to find the official statement), the value of cotton exported from the United States was one hundred and thirty-one million five hundred and seventy-five thousand eight hundred and fifty-nine dollars. If we suppose the quantity of cotton manufactured in the United States to have been equal to only one-fifth of the quantity exported (which is certainly a very low estimate), then one-fifth must be added to the value exported in order to ascertain the value which would be affected by the export duty; for it is obvious that no higher price would be paid for the cotton purchased to be wrought up in the United States than for that purchased for exportation; so that the depreciation caused by the duty would extend to the whole quantity of cotton brought to market, and affect a value of one hundred and fifty-seven million eight hundred and ninety-one thousand and thirty dollars. In the same year the value of cotton fabrics imported into the United States was twenty-eight million one hundred and fourteen thousand nine hundred and twenty-four dollars, of which, certainly not more than one-fourth could have

been consumed in the cotton-growing States; so that the value of the imported cotton fabrics which we consumed did not exceed seven million twenty-eight thousand seven hundred and thirty-one dollars. How, then, could the remission of duties on this small amount of imports compensate us for the depreciating effect of an export duty on cotton of more than twenty times as much value? Our imports are received in exchange for our exports, of which they are the equivalents and representatives. When the value of our exports of cotton was one hundred and thirty-one million five hundred and seventy-five thousand eight hundred and fifty-nine dollars, the whole value of the exports from the United States, exclusive of specie, was two hundred and seventy-eight million nine hundred and six thousand seven hundred and thirteen dollars, and the value of the imports, also, exclusive of specie, was three hundred and thirty-three million five hundred and eleven thousand two hundred and ninety-three dollars. The proportionate share of the imports, therefore, for which the producers of cotton furnished the equivalent, was one hundred and fifty-three million seven hundred and fifty thousand four hundred and fifty-eight dollars. And this consisted not merely of cotton fabrics, but also of woollens, silks, wines, iron, and an almost innumerable variety of other commodities. Certainly, nothing short of a reduction of the import duties on all these things, at least equal in amount to the export duty on cotton, would be sufficient to compensate the producers of cotton for the depreciative effect of the latter duty.

It is the natural effect of all taxes on commerce, whether duties on exports, duties on imports, or any other form of taxation, to impair the value of the materials of commerce. The entire suppression of all imports would extinguish the value of the exports by excluding their equivalents. Then the exclusion of a part of the imports must extinguish a proportionate part of the value of the exports. But duties on imports do suppress a part of the imports. Such duties are paid by the consumers of the articles on which they are laid; but this is because they diminish the supply and raise the price of those articles. If they did not diminish the supply, or in other words, if they did not suppress a part of the imports, they would not raise the price of the imported articles, and would not be paid by the consumers. They would be paid by the importers themselves, and, by rendering their business unprofitable or ruinous, force them to abandon it.

Taxation of imports or taxation of exports either, by itself, would exert a depreciating influence on the value of our products; what, then, would be the aggregated effect of both together? Of the two, there are some reasons for preferring export duties. In the regular and healthy condition of trade, the value of the imports is always greater than that of the

exports, because they represent the original value of the exports, together with the additional value which has been imparted to them by their exportation. At the same rate of duty a larger amount would, therefore, be paid if levied upon the imports than if it were levied upon the exports. But, beside this, an export duty partakes somewhat more of the character of a direct tax than a duty on imports. Its effect upon the producers is less remote and indirect, and therefore more likely to be understood, and to excite discontent and resistance. If, then, we are to have one or the other, let it be the export duty. But if we are to have the cumulative discouragement of both together, we shall have gained very little for the freedom of commerce and the prosperity of agriculture by throwing off the incubus of Northern domination.

ART. IX.—THE SOUTHERN CONFEDERACY.

1.—LEGISLATION OF CONGRESS.

WE continue to condense the leading provisions of the measures of legislation adopted by the Confederate Congress.

TELEGRAPHS.—It is prohibited to communicate by cipher through the telegraph lines, unless the party is known to the agent of the government, and unless the cipher is explained. The President is authorized, for war purposes, to extend existing lines. All telegraph officers shall take oath not to transmit information to the injury of the Confederate States.

POST-OFFICE.—The railroads are divided into three classes, with different rates of remuneration for mail service:

Class 1. The great through lines.

Class 2. Completed roads connecting less important points.

Class 3. Short branch and unfinished roads.

CONFEDERATE LOAN.—The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to make and continue deposits of money in banks which have suspended specie payments, but which have agreed to redeem, in coin or its equivalent, their notes which have been paid in by subscribers to the loan.

MINTS.—Suspended in the Confederate States. The superintendent of the one at New Orleans is made custodian of the property, without other salary than the use of the dwelling attached.

REGULAR ARMY.—The five general officers provided for shall be designated "General," which is the highest military grade known to the Confederate States. Until a military academy is established, cadets shall be selected from the States according to their representation in the House of Representatives, to be attached to companies as supernumerary officers, with the pay of \$40 per month. A bounty of \$10 allowed to recruits.

COTTON AND PRODUCE PROCEEDS LOAN, ETC.—Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to issue bonds to the amount of fifty millions of dollars, drawing eight per cent. semi-annually, and having twenty years to run, in exchange for specie, military stores, or for the proceeds of raw produce, or manufactured goods, or for foreign bills of exchange. In lieu

of said bonds, he may issue twenty millions of dollars in treasury notes, without interest, and not lower in denomination than five dollars; said notes receivable by government in every way except for cotton export duty or in exchange for above-named bonds. Notes to be payable in two years in specie, but may be exchanged for Confederate bonds due in ten years, with eight per cent. interest. For the purpose of raising ten millions of dollars within the present calendar year, and of providing for the ultimate redemption of the debt herein authorized to be contracted, the Secretary of the Treasury is hereby directed to collect information in regard to the value of the property, the revenue system, and the amount collected during the last fiscal year in each of the Confederate States, and to report the same to Congress at its next session, so as to enable it to lay a fair, equal and convenient system of internal taxation, for the purpose of securing the payment of the interest and principal of the debt hereby authorized to be created, in such manner as may fully discharge the obligation herein contracted by the pledge of the faith of the Confederate States to pay the principal and interest of the said debt when due.

VIRGINIA.—May 7—Admitted as a member of the Confederacy.

NORTH CAROLINA.—May 17—Admitted as a member of the Confederacy.

TENNESSEE.—May 17—Admitted as a member of the Confederacy, on condition that she ratify the Constitution of the Provisional Government—which was done on the 8th of June.

ARKANSAS.—May 20—Admitted as a member of the Confederacy.

PATENTS.—All applications for patents for articles already patented in foreign countries (including the United States) must be made within six months of the date of such letters patent, and shall not be granted to an alien whose government is at war with the Confederate States. Patents, assigned in good faith prior to February 4, 1861, to citizens of the Confederate States, in whole or in part, and recorded in this office, shall be held valid; must be recorded within nine months. If the inventor be a slave, the master may take out the patent.

PRIVATEERS.—Private armed vessels will receive twenty per cent. of the value of every vessel of war belonging to the enemy they may sink or destroy.

DEBTORS.—Persons indebted to citizens of the United States, Delaware, Maryland, Missouri and Kentucky excepted, are prohibited from paying over the debt during the war, but are authorized to pay it into the Treasury of the Confederate States, receiving a certificate for the same, redeemable at the close of the war.

EXPORTS.—Cotton or yarn shall not be exported from the Confederate States, except through the seaports, under penalty of \$5,000 and imprisonment for six months: Extended, August 2, to include sugar, tobacco, rice, molasses, syrup and naval stores.

INCREASE OF THE ARMY.—The President is "authorized to employ the militia, military and naval forces of the Confederate States of America, and to ask for and accept the services of any number of volunteers, not exceeding four hundred thousand, who may offer their services, either as cavalry, mounted riflemen, artillery or infantry, in such proportion of these several arms as he may deem expedient, to serve for a period of not less than twelve months, nor more than three years after they shall be mustered into service, unless sooner discharged."

MISSOURI, MARYLAND, ETC.—The President is "authorized to grant commissions to officers, not above the grade of Captain, to such persons as he may think fit to raise and command volunteer regiments and battalions

for the service of the Confederate States; said regiments and battalions to be composed of persons who are or have been residents of the States of Kentucky, Missouri, Maryland or Delaware, and who have enlisted, or may enlist, under said officers upon the condition, however, that such shall not hold rank or receive pay until such regiments or battalions have been raised and mustered into service."

ALIENS RESIDENT AT THE SOUTH.—The President's Proclamation, in another part of this Review, embodies the principles of this law.

COPYRIGHT.—This follows the principles of the old copyright law of the United States. The concluding sections relate to our new relations with these States, and are to wit:

"All the rights and privileges of copyright are extended to citizens of foreign States, granting like privileges to our citizens, provided, 1st. Said copyright is applied for within four months of the publication of the work in said foreign States; and, 2d. That the publication shall be commenced within the limits of the Confederate States within six months of the date of letters granted in them." This sets free all works hitherto copyrighted at the North. Those of authors residing within the Confederate States, we presume, may be saved by a reissue, though we do not see this in the act.

2.—ADDRESS TO THE VICTORS.

Generals Johnston and Beauregard have just issued a patriotic and stirring address to the victors at Manassas. We introduce it:

Soldiers of the Confederate States:

One week ago, a countless host of men, organized into an army, with all the appointments which modern art and practiced skill could devise, invaded the soil of Virginia. Their people sounded their approach with triumphant displays of anticipated victory. Their Generals came in almost royal state; their great Ministers, Senators and women came to witness the immolation of our army and subjugation of our people, and to celebrate the result with wild revelry.

It is with the profoundest emotions of gratitude to an overruling God, whose hand is manifest in protecting our homes and liberties, that we, your Generals commanding, are enabled, in the name of our whole country, to thank you for that patriotic courage, that heroic gallantry, that devoted daring, exhibited by you in the actions of the 18th and 21st, by which the hosts of the enemy were scattered, and a signal and glorious victory obtained.

The two affairs of the 18th and 21st were but the sustained and continued effort of your patriotism against the constantly recurring columns of an enemy, fully treble your numbers; and these efforts were crowned, on the evening of the 21st, with a victory so complete, that the invaders are driven disgracefully from the field, and made to fly in disorderly rout back to their entrenchments—a distance of over thirty miles.

They left upon the field nearly every piece of their artillery, a large portion of their arms, equipments, baggage, stores, etc., etc., and almost every one of their wounded and dead, amounting, together with the prisoners, to many thousands. And thus the Northern hosts were driven from Virginia.

Soldiers! we congratulate you on an event which ensures the liberty of our country. We congratulate every man of you, whose glorious privilege it was to participate in this triumph of courage and of truth—to fight in the battle of Manassas. You have created an epoch in the history of liberty, and unborn nations will rise up and call you "blessed."

Continue this noble devotion, looking always to the protection of a just

God, and before time grows much older, we will be hailed as the deliverers of a nation of ten millions of people.

Comrades! our brothers who have fallen have earned undying renown upon earth, and their blood shed in our holy cause is a precious and acceptable sacrifice to the Father of Truth and of Right.

Their graves are beside the tomb of Washington; their spirits have joined with his in eternal communion.

We will hold fast to the soil in which the dust of Washington is thus mingled with the dust of our brothers. We will transmit this land free to our children, or we will fall into the fresh graves of our brothers in arms. We drop one tear on their laurels and move forward to avenge them.

Soldiers! we congratulate you on a glorious, triumphant and complete victory, and we thank you for doing your *whole duty* in the service of your country.

(Signed)

J. E. JOHNSTON,
General C. S. A.

(Signed)

G. T. BEAUREGARD,
General C. S. A.

3.—PROCLAMATION IN REGARD TO ALIEN ENEMIES.

Whereas, The Congress of the Confederate States of America did, by an Act approved on the 8th day of August, 1861, entitled "An Act respecting Alien Enemies," make provision that proclamation should be issued by the President in relation to alien enemies, and in conformity with the provisions of said Act.

Now, therefore, I, JEFFERSON DAVIS, President of the Confederate States of America, do issue this, my proclamation; and I do hereby warn and require every male citizen of the United States, of the age of fourteen years and upward, now within the Confederate States, and adhering to the Government of the United States, and acknowledging the authority of the same, and not being a citizen of the Confederate States, to depart from the Confederate States within forty days from the date of this Proclamation. And I do warn all persons above described who shall remain within the Confederate States after the expiration of said period of forty days, that they will be treated as alien enemies. *Provided, however*, that this proclamation shall not be considered as applicable, during the existing war, to citizens of the United States residing within the Confederate States with intent to become citizens thereof, and who shall make a declaration of such intention in due form, acknowledging the authority of this Government; nor shall this proclamation be considered as extending to the citizens of the States of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, the District of Columbia, the Territories of Arizona and New Mexico, and the Indian Territory south of Kansas, who shall not be chargeable with actual hostility or other crime against the public safety, and who shall acknowledge the authority of the Government of the Confederate States.

And I do further proclaim and make known, that I have established the rules and regulations hereto annexed in accordance with the provisions of said law.

Given under my hand, and the seal of the Confederate States of America at the City of Richmond, on this fourteenth day of August, A. D. 1861.

By the President,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

R. M. T. HUNTER, Secretary of State.

4.—PRISONERS OF WAR AND PRIVATEERS.

We preserve the admirable letter of President Davis, delivered under a flag of truce to the Washington despot, to which his majesty has not yet vouchsafed a reply :

RICHMOND, July 6th, 1861.

*To Abraham Lincoln, President and Commander-in-chief of the
Army and Navy of the United States :*

SIR: Having learned that the schooner *Savannah*, a private armed vessel in the service, and sailing under a commission issued by authority of the Confederate States of America, had been captured by one of the vessels forming the blockading squadron off Charleston harbor, I directed a proposition to be made to the officer commanding that squadron for an exchange of the officers and crew of the *Savannah* for prisoners of war held by this Government, "according to number and rank." To this proposition, made on the 19th ult., Captain Mercer, the officer in command of the blockading squadron, made answer on the same day that "the prisoners (referred to) are not on board of any of the vessels under my command."

It now appears, by statements made without contradiction in newspapers published in New York, that the prisoners above-mentioned were conveyed to that city, and have there been treated, not as prisoners of war, but as criminals; that they have been put in irons, confined in jail, brought before the courts of justice on charges of piracy and treason, and it is even rumored that they have been actually convicted of the offences charged, for no other reason than that they bore arms in defence of the rights of this Government, and under the authority of its commission.

I could not, without grave discourtesy, have made the newspaper statements, above referred to, the subject of this communication, if the threat of treating as pirates the citizens of this Confederacy, armed for its service on the high seas, had not been contained in your proclamation of the ——— April last; that proclamation, however, seems to afford a sufficient justification for considering these published statements as not devoid of probability.

It is the desire of this Government so to conduct the war now existing as to mitigate its horrors, as far as may be possible; and, with this intent, its treatment of the prisoners captured by its forces has been marked by the greatest humanity and leniency consistent with public obligation; some have been permitted to return home on parole, others to remain at large under similar conditions within this Confederacy, and all have been furnished with rations for their subsistence such as are allowed to our own troops. It is only since the news has been received of the treatment of the prisoners taken on the *Savannah* that I have been compelled to withdraw these indulgences and to hold the prisoners taken by us in strict confinement.

A just regard to humanity and to the honor of this Government now requires me to state explicitly, that, painful as will be the necessity, this Government will deal out to the prisoners held by it the same treatment and the same fate as shall be experienced by those captured on the *Savannah*; and, if driven to the terrible necessity of retaliation by your execution of any of the officers or crew of the *Savannah*, that retaliation will be extended so far as shall be requisite to secure the abandonment of a practice unknown to the warfare of civilized man, and so barbarous as to disgrace the nation which shall be guilty of inaugurating it.

With this view, and because it may not have reached you, I now renew the proposition made to the commander of the blockading squadron, to exchange for the prisoners taken on the *Savannah*, an equal number of those now held by us, according to rank.

I am, sir, yours, etc.,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

We put upon record, as worthy of preservation, the names of the gentlemen who organized and set in operation, under appointments from the several States, our present Confederate Government. Those from North Carolina, Virginia, Arkansas and Tennessee were not appointed until after the Constitution was adopted:

Virginia.—James A. Seddon, Wm. B. Preston, R. M. T. Hunter (Secretary of State), John Tyler (ex-President), W. H. McFarland, R. A. Pryor, Thomas S. Bocock, William C. Rives, Robert E. Scott, James M. Mason, J. W. Brockenbrough, Charles W. Russell, Robert Johnson, Walter R. Staples, Walter Preston.

North Carolina.—Geo. Davis, W. W. Avery, W. N. H. Smith, Thomas Ruffin, T. McDowell, A. W. Venable, J. M. Morehead, R. C. Puryear, Burton Craige, E. A. Davidson.

South Carolina.—R. B. Rhett, Sr., R. W. Barnwell, L. M. Keitt, James Chesnut, Jr., C. G. Memminger (Secretary of Treasury), W. Porcher Miles, James L. Orr,* W. W. Boyce.

Florida.—Jackson Morton, — Ward, J. B. Owens.

Georgia.—Robert Toombs (late Secretary of State), Howell Cobb (President of Congress), Francis S. Bartow,† Martin J. Crawford, Eugenius A. Nisbet, Benj. H. Hill, A. R. Wright, Thomas R. R. Cobb, Augustus H. Kenan, Alex. H. Stephens (Vice-President).

Alabama.—R. W. Walker (Secretary of War), R. H. Smith, J. L. M. Curry, W. P. Chilton, S. F. Hale, Colin J. McRae, John Gill Shorter, Nich. P. Davis, H. C. Jones.

Mississippi.—Wiley P. Harris, Walter Brooke, J. A. Orr, A. M. Clayton, W. S. Barry, J. T. Harrison, J. A. P. Campbell.

Louisiana.—John Perkins, Jr., A. DeClouet, Charles M. Conrad, D. F. Kenner, Gen. Edward Sparrow, Henry Marshall.

Arkansas.—Robert W. Johnson, Albert Rust, H. F. Thomasson, A. H. Garland, W. W. Watkins.

Texas.—Louis T. Wigfall, John H. Reagan (Postmaster-General), John Hemphill, T. N. Waul, John Gregg, W. S. Oldham, W. B. Ochiltree.

Tennessee.—Jno. H. Atkins, Judge Carruthers, — Curran, of Memphis, John H. House, Thomas M. Jones, M. Thomas, Wm. H. DeWitt.

MISCELLANY.

1.—CAN THE SOUTH BE STARVED?

It must be admitted that the Yankees have a bad prospect ahead, in this respect, the present season, when Providence has vouchsafed us the most unparalleled harvests. For ordinary and scant years the record is thus made up by a correspondent of the Baltimore Sun:

I will select, first, South Carolina to run the parallel with, for several reasons, the chief of which are that she has been supposed to produce nothing but cotton and rice, and she is the most derided and contemned of all the slaveholding States. Not many persons are aware that this State alone produces five-sixths nearly of all the rice grown, but the seventh census of 1850 shows that to be the fact; besides nearly all the rice, she produces wheat to within 3,000 bushels of all produced by the six New

* In place of Judge Withers resigned.

† Killed at Manassas.

England States together. She produces almost as much corn as the State of New York, and 6,000,000 of bushels of that grain more than all the New England States together, for she produced upward of 16,000,000 of bushels.

She produced more oats than Maine, more by 1,000,000 of bushels than Massachusetts; more than 1,000,000 bushels of potatoes over and above what Maine produced; more beans and peas by 180,000 bushels than all the Northern States together, except New York; more beef cattle than Pennsylvania by 1,740, and almost as many as all the New England States together; more sheep than Iowa and Wisconsin by 10,699; more hogs than New York by 47,251, more than Pennsylvania by 25,137, and 86,000 more than all the New England States, with New Jersey, Michigan, Wisconsin and California in the bargain; more horses and mules by 10,000 than Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Rhode Island together; besides all which, she produces largely of oxen, cows, and a variety of products of the smaller kinds.

Virginia and North Carolina produced jointly 13,363,000 bushels of wheat, or 241,000 bushels more than the great wheat State of New York, or a quantity equal to the whole product of the six New England States, with New Jersey, Michigan, Iowa and Wisconsin, all put together. Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee produced 115,471,593 bushels of corn, a quantity exceeding by 300,000 bushels the joint product of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont and Maine.

Tennessee alone produced 16,500 more hogs than all the six New England States, with New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Iowa and Michigan; for that State produced 3,104,800 hogs, while the eleven Northern States named produced but 3,088,394. Most people have thought that the North was really the hog producing section, but such is by no means the fact; the whole number of hogs produced in 1850, was 30,316,608—of which the slaveholding States furnished 20,770,730, or more than two-thirds of the whole swine production.

It will doubtless surprise many persons to be told that the seven Gulf or Cotton States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas, produced 45,187 more beef cattle than the six New England States, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Jersey, Indiana, Michigan and Wisconsin, altogether; but such is the fact, for the census of 1850 tells us these seven Cotton States produced 3,357,489 beef cattle, while the thirteen Northern States named produced but 3,312,327.

A single glance at the live stock columns of the seventh census will prove to the inquirer that the slaveholding States produced more beef cattle than the non-slaveholding by 1,782,587. That while the North produced 3,541,121 cows, the South produced 2,829,810. That the Northern States produced 866,397 work oxen, against 820,340 produced by the Southern States. That while the North produced 2,310,961 horses and mules, the South produced 259,358 more, for the Southern production was 2,570,319.

2.—THE MANASSAS FIGHT GRAPHICALLY TOLD.

We preserve the following for future reference as one of the clearest and best records of the battle of Manassas. It was prepared for the Southern Confederacy by one who was present:

General Johnston had arrived the preceding day with about half of the force he had detailed from Winchester, and was the senior officer in command. He magnanimously insisted, however, that General Beauregard's previous plan should be carried out, and he was guided entirely by the

judgment and superior local knowledge of the latter. While, therefore, General Johnston was nominally in command, Beauregard was really the officer of the day. You will be glad to learn that he was this day advanced from a Brigadier to the rank of a full General. But to the battle.

At half-past six in the morning, the enemy opened fire from a battery planted on a hill nearly opposite the centre of our lines. The battery was intended merely to "beat the bush," and to occupy our attention, while he moved a heavy column toward the Stone bridge, over the same creek, upon our left. At ten o'clock, another battery was pushed forward, and opened fire a short distance to the left of the other, and near the road leading north to Centreville. This was a battery of rifled guns, and the object of its fire was the same as that of the other. They fired promiscuously into the woods and gorges on this, the Southern side of Bull Run, seeking to create the impression thereby that our centre would be attacked, and thus prevent us from sending reinforcements to our left, where the real attack was to be made. Beauregard was not deceived by the manœuvre.

It might not be amiss to say that Bull Run, or creek, is north of this place, and runs nearly due east, slightly curving around the Junction, the nearest part of which is about three and a half miles. The Stone bridge is some seven miles distant, in a north-westerly direction, upon which our left wing rested. Mitchell's ford is directly north, and distant four miles, by the road leading to Centreville, which is seven miles from the Junction. On our right is Marion mills, on the same stream, where the Alexandria and Manassas railroad crosses the Run, and distant four miles. Proceeding from Fairfax court-house, by Centreville, to Stone bridge, the enemy passed in front of our entire line, but a distance ranging from five to two miles.

At nine o'clock I reached an eminence nearly opposite the two batteries mentioned above, and which commanded a full view of the country for miles around, except on the right. From this point I could trace the movements of the approaching hosts by the clouds of dust that rose high above the surrounding hills. Our left, under Brigadier-Generals Evans, Jackson and Cocke, and Col. Bartow with the Georgia Brigade, composed of the Seventh and Eighth Regiments, had been put in motion, and was advancing upon the enemy with a force of about fifteen thousand, while the enemy himself was advancing upon our left with a compact column of at least fifty thousand. His entire force on this side of the Potomac is estimated at seventy-five thousand. These approaching columns encountered each other at eleven o'clock.

Meanwhile the two batteries in front kept up their fire upon the wooded hill where they supposed our centre lay. They sent occasional balls from their rifled cannon to the eminence where your correspondent stood. Generals Beauregard, Johnston and Bonham reached this point at twelve o'clock, and one of these balls passed directly over and very near them, and plunged into the ground a few paces from where I stood. I have the ball now, and hope to be able to show it to you at some future day. It is an eighteen-pound ball, about six inches long. By the way, this thing of taking notes amidst a shower of shells and balls is more exciting than pleasant. At a quarter past twelve o'clock, Johnston and Beauregard galloped rapidly forward in the direction of Stone bridge, where the ball had now fully opened. Your correspondent followed their example, and soon reached a position in front of the battle field.

The artillery were the first to open fire, precisely at eleven o'clock. By half-past eleven the infantry engaged, and then it was that the battle began to rage. The dusky columns which had thus far marked the approach

of the two armies now mingled with great clouds of smoke, as it rose from the flashing guns below, and the two shot up together like a huge pyramid of red and blue. The shock was tremendous, as were the odds between the two forces. With what anxious hearts did we watch that pyramid of smoke and dust. When it moved to the right, we knew that the enemy were giving way; and when it moved to the left, we knew that our friends were receding.

Twice the pyramid moved to the right, and as often returned. At last, about two o'clock, it began to move slowly to the left, and thus it continued to move for two mortal hours. The enemy was seeking to turn our left flank and to reach the railroad leading hence in the direction of Winchester. To this he extended his lines, which he was enabled to do by reason of his great numbers. This was unfortunate for us, as it required a corresponding extension of our own lines to prevent his extreme right from outflanking us—a movement, on our part, which weakened the force of our resistance along the whole line of battle, which finally extended over a space of two miles. It also rendered it the more difficult to bring up reinforcements, as the further the enemy extended his right, the greater the distance our reserve forces had to travel to counteract the movement.

This effort to turn our flank was pressed with great determination for five long, weary hours, during which the tide of battle ebbed and flowed along the entire line with alternate fortunes. The enemy's column continued to stretch away to the left like a huge anaconda, seeking to envelop us within its mighty folds and crush us to death; and at one time it really looked as if he would succeed. But here let me pause to explain why it was our reinforcements were so late in arriving, and why a certain other important movement miscarried.

The moment he discovered the enemy's order of battle, Gen. Beauregard, it is said, dispatched orders to Gen. Ewell, on our extreme right, to move forward and turn his left or rear. At the same time, he ordered Generals Jones, Longstreet and Bonham, occupying the centre of our lines, to co-operate in the movement, but not to move until Gen. Ewell had made the attack. The order to Gen. Ewell unfortunately miscarried. The others were delivered, but, as the movements of the centre were to be regulated entirely by those on the right, nothing was done at all. Had the orders to Gen. Ewell been received and carried out, and our entire force brought upon the field, we should have destroyed the enemy's army almost literally. Attacked in front, on the flank and in the rear, he could not possibly have escaped, except at the loss of thousands of prisoners and all his batteries, while the field would have been strewn with his dead.

Finding that his orders had in some way failed to be executed, General Beauregard at last ordered up a portion of the forces which were intended to co-operate with Gen. Ewell. It was late, however, before these reinforcements came up. Only one brigade reached the field before the battle was won. This was led by Gen. E. K. Smith, of Florida, formerly of the United States Army, and was a part of General Johnston's column from Winchester. They should have reached here the day before, but were prevented by an accident on the railroad.

They dashed on to the charge with loud shouts and in the most gallant style. About the same time, Maj. Elsey (formerly of the Augusta Arsenal, I may have his title wrong), coming down the railroad from Winchester with the last of Johnston's brigades, and hearing the firing, immediately quit the train and struck across the country, and as a gracious fortune would have it, he encountered the extreme right of the enemy as he was feeling his way around our flank, and with his brigade struck him, like a thunderbolt, full into the face. Finding he was about to be outflanked himself, the enemy gave way after the second fire. Meanwhile, Beaure-

gard rallied the centre and dashed in the very thickest of the fight, and after him rushed our own brave boys with a shout that seemed to shake the very earth. The result of this movement, from three distinct points, was to force back the enemy, who began to retreat, first in good order, and finally in much confusion. At this point, the cavalry were ordered upon the pursuit. The retreat now became a perfect rout, and it is reported that the flying legions rushed past Centreville, in the direction of Fairfax, as if the earth had been opening behind them. It was when Gen. Beauregard led the final charge that his horse was killed by a shell.

The following picture of the once-renowned Capitol of the United States as it is exhibited under the Lincoln despotism, is furnished for us by one of the despot's truest friends and supporters, the *New York Times*:

For three days, without an effort to prevent, the public saw the remains of some twenty regiments scattered about the city, the men sleeping on door-steps, in barns, cellars, restaurants and hotel basements, often begging charity, and fed by private citizens; without order, discipline or restraint: the officers lounging and smoking in bar-rooms, indifferent to their own responsibilities and the public dishonor. Crimes of every kind disgraced the capital. A day did not pass without murder, or rape, or quarrels, or drunkenness. Even as late as Friday last a lady was shot by an intoxicated soldier.

No effort was made to collect the men, or get them to camps, or feed or house them. Some absolutely suffered from hunger. No one knew where the head-quarters of his regiment was, or what had become of its officers. The army was a mob. Wherever the stranger went, over Georgetown, Arlington, Alexandria and Washington, he met there wandering soldiers in search of a regiment.

These three days were another defeat of our forces—as bad as the causeless rout of Manassas. Of some of the regiments, it is doubted if they can ever be collected and reorganized, so thoroughly disorganized have they become. The truth is, not a single regiment ought to be quartered in the city. It has become a den of liquor-shops and gambling-hells for soldiers. If General McClellan does not look after this police of the capital, he will find his army defeated before a battle.

4.—SEABOARD PLANTERS SHOULD PREPARE FOR THE WAR.

From the character of our country and the habits of our people, the horse and the rifle must be largely depended on in all our wars. As voltigeurs, or mixed riflemen and horsemen, with our railroads extending in every direction, and with strongholds in every swamp, it will be scarcely possible for an enemy to land anywhere on our shores, save at the risk of being overwhelmed by numbers. With a few pounds of parched grits of Indian corn, and as little or less of jerked beef, and a tin cup to dip water from the brook; his blanket, water-proof cape, his rifle, bowie-knife and revolver, the planter might take the field and keep it for a fortnight without the encumbrance of baggage wagon or commissary department. Acting with promptness, they might, in large bodies or in small squads, thoroughly acquainted with the woods, water courses, swamps and paths, expert boatmen all, and well accustomed to the stratagems of the deer-stalker, turkey hunter and night sportsman, he might strike at all hours of the day and night, and by this exhausting process arrest the advance of invaders, till more regularly drilled forces could be brought to bear on them.

But to do this most efficiently, forage for horses should be always attainable; and as our lands are not natural to grass, and the cane or marsh are

not to be found everywhere, it is suggested to our planters to direct the sowing of a small plat on each plantation of green forage crops, and the curing of fodder and horse feed, *as so much subscribed toward the defence of the country*, and to keep on hand a certain proportion of ammunition for rifle or double-barrel, with dried beef and parched meal in tightly-stopped vessels, enough to support a man for several days, and *always ready*. Should the fodder not be wanted, there will long be a good market for it in Charleston and Savannah.

Our forage crops are, *Marsh*, which, when wilted in the sun, will keep a horse a few days at hard work, and dried, will make serviceable fodder in the winter.

Peas, which cut up and cured upon racks just as the peas have filled, constitute one of the best fodders known.

Indian Corn, sown in drills and cut when in tassel, will, if placed on its butt in small shocks, cure in a fortnight and yield large returns.

Crab Grass will pay well for the labor of ploughing up a piece of land in the early part of July. The grass, cut just as the seed is ripening—wilted for a few hours in the sun, till there is no appearance of moisture, when it is wrung—put in small cocks three feet high, and thatched, by combing down the top with a fork or rake, will cure readily, even in rainy weather. If the hand be introduced into the slack, and it appear *too warm*, lift off the top half way down, turn it over carefully by placing one hand on top and the other into the stack, and turn it over, and when sufficiently cool put it carefully back again. Such hay is equal to the best Northern, and will pay well upon most of our lands, but especially on old rice fields, where it sometimes grows several feet high.

Common Millet, planted on good ground, at thirty inches, will feed one horse to each task row of one hundred and five feet, and be again ready for cutting in fourteen days till frost falls.

The *Sorghum*, or sugar millet, too, as green food, will keep horses, mules, sheep and hogs, but will not do for milk-giving cattle. Nevertheless, the seed, when dried, is good substitute for oats, and will be readily eaten by all kinds of cattle, horses and mules, when they cannot get corn or peas.

Rice Straw should also be all saved, and no planter, of course, will overlook *Blades* as a distender. Nor should we neglect *Corn-cobs*, which, when ground and soaked in water with a little salt, will, with sweet potatoes, vines and roots, keep animals in excellent working order; or, soaked and given with the *Moss*, will enable them to keep up for some time.

These things, with the pickings always to be found in our woods, swamps, canebrakes and along the borders of our marshes, even in severe weather, will enable us to adopt a system of desultory warfare, which the history of invasions shows to be always most destructive to invaders, and in our case would render it difficult for united nations to “wipe out” us or our institutions, and give our property and wives as wages to a hireling soldiery.

EDITORIAL.

The question of the *public finances* is one, of course, which attracts the greatest interest and attention in every quarter, and much is said and written upon it. The suggestions of a writer, who signs himself "J," in a pamphlet published at Charleston, are among the most practical that we have seen. He finds in the cotton and tobacco crops a ready and ample resource for every emergency, but rejects, as impolitic and dangerous, any proposition to make Government the purchaser of these articles, or to render the Government, in its financial interests, dependent upon the early movement of the crops and thus at a disadvantage in the game of diplomacy. His own proposition is, that the crops be taken as far as offered upon the following basis:

The planter to pledge to the Government in *due form* the proceeds of ——— bales of cotton.

The Government to give their obligation to furnish Bonds for said proceeds, when paid over—the Bonds to draw eight per cent. interest from the date of issue.

The Government to make such provisions as will secure the safety of the pledged cotton, and to ensure the payment of the proceeds into the Treasury when the same is sold.

The Government holding the pledged Cotton in safe custody, and the right of possession in the proceeds of the same when sold, have now a specie representative, and to issue Treasury Notes to the extent of one and a half the amount of the proceeds (valuing the cotton at an average price say ten cents per pound).

These Treasury Notes to draw interest, say one cent per day on each hundred dollars, payable when the said notes are redeemed or called in by the Government.

The Government to issue these notes for the payment of their debts, the purchase of their supplies, and other war expenditures. The notes would thus come gradually into circulation.

The planter, when he has baled up his whole crop, and his excess over and above the pledged

portion thereof is definitely ascertained, at his option, the Government to receive the pledge of the proceeds of this excess, and give Treasury Notes in exchange. In no case should the excess amount be taken for more than one-third of the planter's crop.

When the independence of the South is secured, and the crop has gone forward to a considerable extent, the Treasury Notes to be called in, with notice that the interest thereon will stop from that date, and Government having in hand the proceeds of the pledged Cotton (against which the notes were issued), the same to be redeemed.

At any time during the war, or after its close, those persons holding Treasury Notes in amounts not less than \$50, and are disposed to lend them to the Government, at their call or otherwise, Bonds of the Confederate States to be given for the same.

Another very interesting pamphlet has been placed in our hands, entitled "*Suggestions as to the best mode of providing means of carrying out the existing war,*" understood to be from the pen of Judge Gholson, of Virginia. The writer regards a resort to direct taxation unnecessary, and believes that in the control of the cotton and tobacco crops alone, which can be readily acquired, the most ample resources to meet every exigency of the times will be furnished. He proposes to give in exchange for these crops treasury notes and bonds in equal proportion, and believes that the details of the system, though vast, could be matured by experienced and judicious persons. We make an extract from the pamphlet.

"If we should require further credits, the possession and control of the cotton crop would give us a most favorable introduction to the money lenders of the world, and open the way for successful negotiations. Full grown would our government spring into existence. The confidence of our people in their government would inspire confidence in others, while a

single product, reared for export, and amounting annually to two hundred millions, would exhibit an ability to pay.

The cotton that puts in motion the spindles of France and Great Britain, and gives employment to almost countless hands, both upon land and sea, is a tremendous engine, and placed in the hands of a wise and judicious administration, may be wielded with irresistible power. The government at Washington might boast of sails that whiten every ocean, and exultingly point to the stars and stripes. We could point to the tombs of the patriot sages, who had given lustre to the stars and stripes, and to the luxuriant fields, whose products had built and freighted the ships they now claim as their own, and use for our subjugation."

The Macon Chamber of Commerce has invited the merchants, bankers and others of the Confederate States, to meet in Convention in that city on the 14th of October next, to devise some plan of *establishing credits between these States and foreign countries*. This is an important step and in the right direction. Our mercantile interests should be well and ably represented. It is necessary to start right on the removal of the blockade, in order that our former vassalage to the North may not be renewed. We extract from the circular which has been laid upon our desk:

"Although the products of the Southern States have constituted the basis of credits and exchange between the late United States and those nations for more than half a century, in a financial and commercial sense we are unknown to each other—our bills of exchange having been drawn by Northern houses, and the vast amount of their productions consumed by us—imported through the same channel—so little have we been known in these transactions, that years would be required in the ordinary course of events to build up that trade and establish that confidence which is absolutely necessary in commercial transactions, which are founded on a system of credits."

Our own gallant troops, it seems, including even the inhabitants of the town, have consigned to the flames the *beautiful and ancient town of Hampton*, rather than see the enemy protected by it. Already they had begun entrenchments there, and intended to make it their winter quarters, and a rendezvous for runaway slaves.

It is said that General Macgruder went to within a mile and a half of Hampton and halted. At night,

large fires were built at this point, and the General withdrew to within three miles of Hampton. After midnight, finding that the enemy made no demonstration whatever, he dispatched some two or three regiments of infantry and a troop of cavalry to Hampton, with instructions to burn it down. This force entered the town, found it unoccupied except by one or two persons, and, at about three o'clock, set the place on fire. At half-past three the whole town was in a blaze, and by morning was reduced to ashes.

The Yankees still continue to hold our captured *privateersmen* in irons, for which compound interest is exacted from their innumerable prisoners in our hands. The New York News speaks plainly to the tyrant who would thus act the Nero of the nineteenth century:

"We have heretofore demonstrated, without contradiction, as a proposition of law, that by every law and decision and precedent of the United States of America—from the time when the Congress of 1776 authorized privateer commissions down to the latest authentic record of our courts—privateering has been recognized and sanctioned; that our courts have uniformly recognized privateer commissions even when issued by unacknowledged and scarcely *de facto* governments—even by mere revolutionary colonial *juntas*, in revolt against the mother country; and, finally, that by the laws of nations, privateering is not piracy and cannot be declared to be piracy; that the Treaty of Paris simply prohibited it, and did not propose to declare it piracy; and that piracy is public and wholesale robbery, without pretence of governmental authority on the part of those who perpetrate it, and carried on against the vessels and property of all nations indiscriminately, not, as in the case of privateering against a single belligerent.

We have, therefore, maintained that the privateersmen commissioned by the Southern Confederacy are to be considered not pirates but prisoners of war. As such, we have urged that they should be treated, and as such exchanged to redeem Northern prisoners of war held by the Confederacy."

President Davis' telegram from the field of battle at Manasses, dated "July 21, at night," will become an important historical document. It is guarded in its statement, and thus falls far short of the facts as they afterward came out:

To General S. COOPER:
Night has closed on a hard-fought field.

Our forces have won a glorious victory. The enemy was routed and fled precipitately, abandoning a very large amount of arms, munitions, knapsacks and baggage. The ground was strewn with their killed for miles, and the farm houses and grounds around were filled with their wounded. The pursuit was continued along several routes toward Leesburg and Centreville until darkness covered the fugitives. We have captured several field batteries and regimental standards, and one United States flag. Many prisoners have been taken. Too high praise cannot be bestowed, whether for the skill of the principal officers, or for the gallantry of all the troops. The battle was mainly fought on our left, several miles from our field works—our force engaged there not exceeding fifteen thousand; that of the enemy estimated at thirty-five thousand.

(Signed)

JEFF. DAVIS.

We cannot consent to dispose of the hero McDowell, and of the Manassas affair without putting upon record as part of the history of the times, an admirable satire, for which we are indebted to the author, John R. Thompson, Esq., so long distinguished as the editor of the Southern Literary Messenger:

On to Richmond!

AFTER SOUTHEY'S "MARCH TO MOSCOW."

Major-General Scott

An order had got

To push on the column to Richmond,
For loudly went forth,

From all parts of the North,

The cry that an end of the war must be made

In time for the regular yearly Fall Trade;

Mr. Greeley spoke freely about the delay,

The Yankees "to hum" were all hot for the

fray;

The chivalrous Grow

Declared they were slow,

And therefore the order

To march from the border

And make an excursion to Richmond.

Major General Scott

Most likely was not

Very loth to obey this instruction, I wot;

In his private opinion

The Ancient Dominion

Deserved to be pillaged, her sons to be shot,

And the reason is easily noted;

Though this part of the earth

Had given him birth,

And medals and swords,

Inscribed with fine words.

It never for Winfield had voted.

Besides you must know that our first of Com-
manders,

Had sworn, quite as hard as the army in Flan-
ders,

With his finest of armies and proudest of navies,
To wreak his old grudge against Jefferson Davis.

Then "forward the column," he said to McDow-
ell

And the Zouaves, with a shout,

Most fiercely cried out,

"To Richmond or h—ll!" (I omit here the vowel);
And Winfield, he ordered his carriage and four,
A dashing turn-out, to be brought to the door,
For a pleasant excursion to Richmond.

Major General Scott

Had there on the spot

A splendid array

To plunder and slay;

In the camp he might boast

Such a numerous host,

As he never had yet

In the battle field set;

Every class and condition of Northern society

Were in for the trip, a most varied variety;

In the camp he might hear every lingo in vogue.

"The sweet German accent, the rich Irish
brogue."

The beautiful boy

From the banks of the Shannon

Was there to employ

His excellent cannon.

And besides the long files of dragoons and artil-
lery.

The Zouaves and Hussars,

All the children of Mars,

There were barbers and cooks

And writers of books—

The *chef de cuisine* with his French bills of fare,

And the artist to dress the young officers' hair,

And the scribblers all ready once to prepare

An eloquent story

Of conquest and glory;

And servants with numberless baskets of sillery,

Though Wilson the Senator followed the train,

At a distance quite safe, to "conduct the cham-
pagne."

While the fields were so green, and the sky was
so blue,

There was certainly nothing more pleasant to do

On this pleasant excursion to Richmond.

In Congress the talk, as I said, was of action,

To crush out, *instantly* the traitorous faction.

In the press and the mess,

They would hear nothing less

Than to make the advance, spite of rhyme or of
reason.

And at once put an end to the insolent treason.

There was Greeley,

And Ely.

The blood-thirsty Grow,

And Hickman (the rowdy, not Hickman the
beau),

And that terrible Baker

Who would seize on the South, every acre,

And Webb, who would drive us all into the
Gulf or

Some nameless locality smelling of sulphur;

And with all this bold crew

Nothing would do

While the fields were so green and the sky was
so blue,

But to march on directly to Richmond.

Then the gallant McDowell

Drove madly the rowel

Of spur that had never been "won" by him,

In the flank of his steed,

To accomplish a deed.

Such as never before had been done by him;

And the battery called Sherman's

Was wheeled into line.

While the beer-drinking Germans,

From Neckar and Rhine,

With Minnie and Yager,

Come on with a swagger,

Full of fury and lager,

(The day and the pageant were equally fine)

Oh! the fields were so green, and the sky was so blue.
Indeed 'twas a spectacle pleasant to view.
As the column pushed on to Richmond.

Ere the march was begun,
In a spirit of fun,
General Scott in a speech
Said his army should teach
The Southrons the lesson the laws to obey,
And just before dusk of the third or fourth day,
Should joyfully march into Richmond.
He spoke of their drill
And their courage and skill.
And declared that the ladies of Richmond would
rave

O'er such matchless perfection, and gracefully
wave

In rapture their delicate 'kerchiefs in air
At their morning parades on the Capitol Square.
But alack! and alas!

Mark what soon came to pass,
When this army, in spite of his flatteries,
Amid war's loudest thunder
Must stupidly blunder

Upon those accursed "masked batteries."

*Then Beauregard came,
Like a tempest of flame,
To consume them in wrath
On their perilous path;*

And Johnston bore down in a whirlwind to
sweep

Their ranks from the field
Where their doom had been sealed.
As the storm rushed over the face of the deep;
While swift on the centre our President pressed,
And the foe might descry
In the glance of his eye

The light that once blazed upon Diomed's crest.
McDowell! McDowell! weep, weep for the day
When the Southrons you meet in their battle
array;

To your confident hosts with its bullets and
steel

'Twas worse than Culloden to luckless Lochiel!
Oh, the Generals were green, and old Scott is
now blue,

And a terrible business, McDowell, to you
Was that pleasant excursion to Richmond.

The glorious victories of McCulloch and other Confederate Generals in *Missouri*, render it exceedingly likely that the Vandals will very shortly be driven from its borders. In anticipation of that event, Congress has promptly acted by providing for the admission of the State into the Confederacy. Her advent will be welcomed with bonfires and rejoicings. We put upon record the terse and modest dispatch which announces the victory over Lyon, who richly merited the fate he encountered:

*Springfield, Mo., via Little Rock, Ark.,
August 13, 1861.*

Hon. L. P. WALKER:

The battle of Oakhill has been fought, and we have gained a great victory over the enemy commanded by General S. Lyon. The battle was fought ten miles from Springfield. The enemy were nine or ten thousand strong; our

force was about the same. The battle lasted six and a half hours. The enemy were repulsed and driven from the field, with the loss of six pieces of artillery, several hundred stands of small arms, eight hundred killed, one thousand wounded, and three hundred prisoners. General Lyon was killed, and many of their prominent officers. Our loss was two hundred and sixty-five killed, eight hundred wounded and thirty missing. We have possession of Springfield, and the enemy are in full retreat toward Rolla.

BENJ. McCULLOCH,
Brigadier-General Commanding.

A statement is published in some of the Northern papers, which undertakes to give in detail the *position and strength of our forces in the field*. It is inaccurate in many particulars, but the aggregate is not far from correct. The writer, who is, without doubt, some spy in our lines, estimates the number under arms in Virginia thus:

Manassas	35,000
Richmond	25,000
Norfolk	12,000
Johnston's army	31,000
Cheat river	6,000
Yorktown	10,000
Brentsville	5,000
Fredericksburg	6,000
Lynchburg	15,000
Petersburg	7,000
Dumfries	3,000
Culpepper	3,000
Gordonsville	3,000
Charlottesville	3,000
Staunton	3,000
Batteries, etc.	18,000
Total	175,000

He estimates the whole number of Confederate troops in the field at about 250,000, being contributed as follows:

Georgia	22,000
Louisiana	14,000
Mississippi	18,000
Texas	9,000
Tennessee	25,000
South Carolina	15,000
Arkansas	10,000
Alabama	18,000
North Carolina	20,000
Virginia	65,000
Florida	3,000
Maryland	1,000
Missouri	22,000
Kentucky	1,000
Total	243,000

Congress has consolidated its Acts in relation to *Bonds and Treasury notes*, and provided for their security and redemption by a moderate "war tax." The people will respond promptly and with alacrity to the

call. The tax is not to be collected until May next, and the States may, if they prefer it, assume and pay over, in any other form or manner, the amount assessed upon their citizens. *Fifty cents in the hundred dollars*, on a moderate valuation of the property of the country, will prove to be but a trifling burden, whilst it will give the government the command of many millions of dollars to meet its war expenditures and preserve its finances from those disorders which are ever incident to war. In this, every citizen has a direct interest. Our former government resorted to similar taxes during the war of 1812-15, and is doing it now on a large scale. It is a necessary evil during the suspension of commerce and the failure of other sources of revenue. The individual savings of the people, the result of good economy, during the war, will pay the tax.

The first section of the Act authorizes the issue of *one hundred millions of treasury notes*, payable six months after a treaty of peace shall be signed with the United States. These notes are not to be of less denomination than five dollars, and are to be received in payment of war taxes and other dues (except export duties on cotton), and in payment of the proceeds of the produce loan.

To fund the notes and to make exchange for produce subscriptions, etc., *one hundred millions of bonds* are authorized to be issued, having not more than twenty years to run and drawing eight per cent. interest (payable semi-annually). Where the date of sale of the produce subscribed is fixed by the parties, the Secretary is authorized to extend the time, at his discretion.

The fourth section we give entire:

That for the special purpose of paying the principal and interest of the public debt, and of supporting the government, a war tax shall be assessed and levied of fifty cents upon each one hundred dollars of value of the following property in the Confederate States, namely: Real estate of all kinds; slaves; merchandise; bank stocks; railroad and other corporation stocks; money at interest or invested by individuals, in the purchase of bills, notes and

other securities for money, except the bonds of the Confederate States of America and cash on hand or on deposit in bank or elsewhere; cattle, horses and mules; gold watches, gold and silver plate; pianos and pleasure carriages: *Provided*, however, that when the taxable property, herein above enumerated, of any head of a family is of value less than five hundred dollars, such taxable property shall be exempt from taxation under this Act: and, *provided further*, that the property of colleges and schools, and of charitable or religious corporations or associations actually used for the purpose for which such colleges, schools, corporations, or associations were created, shall be exempt from taxation under this Act; and *provided further*, that all public lands and all property owned by a State for public purposes be exempt from taxation.

The other sections provide for a collector at large in each State, with a salary of one thousand dollars, who shall appoint assistants for each county, and these shall make assessments of the value of property taxed by the first day of November. A false return shall be fined \$500. A failure to make response to the assessor, shall incur the penalty of double taxation. The valuation shall be made with reference to the value of property on the first day of October. The local collectors shall complete their lists by the first of December. These lists shall be in the hands of the chief collectors before the 1st February, 1862. The tax shall be collected in all of the districts between the first and twentieth day of May, under penalty of distress, etc., as stated in the Act:

SEC. 17. The taxes assessed on each person shall be a statutory lien for one year upon all the property of that person in preference to any other lien; the said lien to take date from the first day of October, to which the valuation has relation, and the lands and other property of any collector shall be bound by statutory lien for five years for all moneys received by him for taxes: the date of such lien to commence from the time of his receiving the money.

SEC. 18. The compensation of the tax collectors shall be five per cent. on the first ten thousand dollars received, and two-and-a-half per cent. on all sums beyond that amount, until the compensation shall reach eight hundred dollars, beyond which no further compensation shall be paid.

The penalty of death will be inflicted on those who, during the war, or within one year thereafter, shall aid in counterfeiting treasury notes. The penalty for counterfeiting bonds and coupons will be a fine not exceeding five thousand dollars and

imprisonment at hard labor not exceeding five years. These are among the leading provisions of the Act, which is very long and explicit on every point. The clause in regard to the assumption by the States is important, and we hope that many of them will take advantage of it:

SEC. 24. If any State shall, on or before the first day of April next, pay, in the Treasury notes of the Confederate States, or in specie, the taxes assessed against the citizens of such State, less ten per centum thereon, it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to notify the same to the several tax collectors of such State, and, thereupon, their authority and duty under this Act shall cease.

Having spent a month or two at a summer seat in the vicinity of Nashville, we became impatient of the quiet of private life, and resolved to find a place in the picture of active effort, which in these "piping war times," should include every good citizen.

The duty which has been assigned us of organizing and regulating the details of matters connected with the *Cotton and other Produce Loan*, is one that will require patient labor, and one in which we trust to perform an acceptable public service. In the resource which is here opened, the Government, by the liberality and patriotism of its citizens, will find its arm made strong and supported in the giant struggle in which it is engaged. Already millions of dollars have been subscribed under a formula which follows, and the aggregate will be swelled several fold before the canvass is completed:

We, the subscribers agree to contribute to the defence of the Confederate States, the portion of our crops set down to our respective names: the same to be placed in warehouse or in our factors' hands, and sold on or before the first day of _____ next;* and the nett proceeds of sale we direct to be paid over to the Treasurer of the Confederate States, for Bonds for same amount bearing 8 per cent. interest.

Planters of the South, the appeal is in an especial manner to you. In

*The agent in charge of this subscription will fill the blank as to the date of sale, with the month best suited to the locality of the subscriber. In all cases selecting the earliest practicable date. Considerations of mutual interest will prevent a sale which would involve the sacrifice of the property.

the great resources of our soil, blessed as it now is with prolific harvests, the ready means are afforded of sustaining the armies that have been or may hereafter be called into the field to maintain our liberties and possessions, menaced by an enemy who threatens no less than subjugation and extermination. Come forward, and come promptly. Whilst half of our people are in arms, the other half are competent by their resources to keep them in the field. Bring forth these resources, or such part of them as shall be beyond your pressing wants, and make an offering of them on the altar of your country. Thousands have already responded to the call, and the thought is not entertained for a moment that any one will hesitate. The vindication of our rights, and the speedy termination of the war depend upon the unanimity and the prompt responses of the people to every call that shall be made upon them.

On our route from Nashville to Richmond, we spent a day at the Mountain House, near Chattanooga, and cannot refrain from expressing the surprise and gratification which it afforded. Surely we need never seek the mountains of New England again, with such magnificent heights at our very door. Never have we surveyed a more glorious scene than that which nature presents to us here. Let the South come up and look at it.

Passing through East Tennessee, we were glad to note the evidences of a sounder and more wholesome sentiment on the subject of the South and the Union, and we may rest assured that so soon as that gallant people can be relieved of the demagogues who have deceived and betrayed them, they will be found doing gallant battle in the Southern ranks.

The blockade will make us very independent at the South, and thank God for it. Every branch of manufacture is springing up. Our people

need but this spur. We beg to be informed of the movements in the several States. We shall practice economy in every way, and will have enough. Have we leather, or can it be prepared in time to furnish shoes for our army? We think it can, or that substitutes will be furnished. Necessity is the mother of invention. We want salt. We have only to work our salt springs, and carry out the suggestions of Mr. Thomassy. That gentleman has, he tells us, already secured a large contract to supply the army. Richmond has become a great manufacturing town. A few days ago we were taken through the colossal establishment of Mr. J. R. Anderson—the Tredegar works—and witnessed all the processes of manufacturing railroad iron and the largest calibre of guns, shells, ball, etc. Fifteen hundred men are employed. We saw cannon in every stage of progress, and cannon ball without number. The process of rifling was to us peculiarly interesting. The capacity of the establishment is almost without limit, and it seems like a special providence in our behalf that it exists within our limits. Let the South become one great work shop. We shall beat the Yankees in time with their own tools. Let our ladies take up again the spinning wheel and the loom, and every family will soon be enabled to supply its own wants. A people so nerved and circumstanced are invincible. Nevertheless, we do not believe that the blockade, and perhaps not even the war, can survive the present winter. The Governor of North Carolina writes:

"From a recent survey made by our able State Geologist, Prof. Emmons, I am gratified to state that we have in our midst, within a few miles of the North Carolina railroad, a most extensive and valuable supply of lead, now ready to be taken up; and he further reports that we have the material for the manufacture of gunpowder. The most valuable ingredient of powder, saltpetre, is found abundantly in the limestone caves in Tennessee, Georgia and North Alabama."

What to do with the prisoners who are accumulating so fast upon our hands, is a grave question to be

considered by Government. To use a vulgar phrase, they are fast eating off their own heads. Those now in Richmond tax us to the extent of \$30,000 or more a month. What is to be done. They are properly held in confinement until the fate of our privateersmen can be ascertained; but may not their services be turned to some practical account? The common soldiers are but laborers, and should be put to work. We visited them a few days ago, and noted particularly the redoubtable Congressman Ely, who, it is believed, will preach no more crusades against the South.

Congress has provided, in anticipation of recognition, that something like shape should be given to our diplomatic system. It authorizes the President to appoint two other commissioners of equal rank with those now in Europe, and to designate the several points to which they shall all be accredited.

J. W. Randolph, Richmond, has published and furnished us copies of several works well suited to the times. Mr. Randolph has been one of the few publishers within the limits of the South, and we hope he will push the business as the times become more favorable. The books he sends us are:

1. *Hand-book of Artillery*, by Capt. Roberts.
2. *Cooking by Troops in Camp and Hospital*, by Florence Nightingale.
3. *Infantry Camp Duty, Field Fortification and Coast Defence*, by Capt. Buckhottz.
4. *Instructions on Outpost Duty*, by Lieut. Col. von Arentschildt.
5. *Soulouque and his Empire*, by D'Alaux.

The last-named was reviewed fully, by Mr. Fitzhugh, in our last. The military works are all duodecimo pamphlets, and are by distinguished authorities in the art of war.

The Executive and the several departments are now well organized and well provided for at Richmond, and public business goes on at last with much of the regularity and system of an old and established Gov-

ernment. It is wonderful how so much could have been effected in so short a time. No other people in the world, we verily believe, were capable of it. Congress, which met in the old State-house, has now adjourned, after the performance of the most important duties in the shortest time. The old State-house belongs to the earlier days of Richmond. It is a grand and imposing edifice at a distance, but is now somewhat dilapidated. The grounds are superb, and the prospect embraced from the window out of which we now look is like that of a glorious panorama. The eye sweeps over many a hill and proud edifice, down the waters of the historic and almost classic James river. Richmond is a beautiful city, and we shall have more to say of it hereafter, without yielding, however, the opinion that its claims for the seat of Government will have to yield in the end to Nashville.

We omitted at the proper time, nearly three months ago, to refer to a visit we were permitted to make to the fortifications in Charleston Harbor, the theatre, but recently, of the opening act of the drama of the present war. We enjoyed a brief interview with our old acquaintance, the heroic Beauregard, and brought away some memorials of the struggle. The well-battered fortress is in course of rapid repair, and will soon exhibit few traces of the ruin which was brought upon it by the Confederate guns. Without doubt, such guns could in a week have effected the breach. Fort Moultrie, which did execution worthy of its ancient renown, is also assuming its wonted aspect, and was when we visited it under command of our college classmate and friend, Capt. Thomas Wagner. The harbor of Charleston is now impregnable.

The *Bank Convention* which assembled in Richmond on the 22d July, and in which all of the States were represented except Louisiana, whose bank policy is otherwise con-

trolled by the law, adopted resolutions recommending—

1. Liberal bank accommodation to planters who may subscribe of their produce to the Confederate loan, and agreeing:

2. To receive and pay out the Treasury notes of the Government.

Many other matters of especial interest received attention.

Our early friend, Major Stephen F. Miller, of Georgia, of whom we cherish many pleasant reminiscences, of golden days and nights, when he was associated with us in the office of this Review, is, we are glad to perceive, again at the editorial desk, and doing good service to his country. He sends us a pamphlet copy of his "Tragedy of the Potomac," taken from the Milledgeville Recorder, which he edits. Its mock-heroic spirit amuses us exceedingly.

The following letter comes to us over the signature of "A Friend." We shall endeavor to carry out the suggestions of the writer, although it is next to impossible to get Southern book dealers to order Southern works. Our circular, which was sent to a long list of them, has, so far, been responded to by but few.

MOBILE, August —, 1861.

Allow me as a friend of your periodical, and of every other Southern literary enterprise, to suggest a single thought. Is it not strange that in the large and wealthy city of Mobile, that there is not a single place at which your periodical can be obtained, as far as I am acquainted. It was by this general distributing arrangement that Harper's and other magazines, acquired such an immense circulation. Multitudes would, no doubt, in the absence of Harper's, and Leslie's, and Gleason's and a whole host of Northern, semi-abolitionized species of trash, patronize your very valuable and instructive Review; although I do not mean to say that they would not encourage it, even though this mass of crude, flimsy stuff was to be had in town. I do hope ere long, to see your magazine a regular institution of this sunny South, for if there is one thing that deserves elevation and success on account of its exalted virtue and excellence, it is your very valuable monthly. Do imitate the Yankees in one point, and that is in establishing depôts at every town and even village of importance, so that the people may become so attached and accustomed to your issue that they will forever preclude the Yankee trash that has been for years sprinkled like rain all over our country.

During the Editor's connection with the Government, no interruption will occur in the affairs of the Review. The editorial will be conducted by himself from Richmond, and the business department will be located at Charleston, under charge of his brother, B. F. DeBow, who has, from the foundation of the work, been connected, in one way or another, with its fortunes. To his good management much has been owing. He is and always has been a true-hearted Southern man, devoted to its interests, and sympathizing in its movements, and ready at all times to splinter a lance in its defence. He was one of the first to resign office and retire from Washington, on receiving notice of the secession of South Carolina, and had announced long before that under no circumstances would he degrade himself by holding office under the Lincoln regime.

Subscribers will, therefore, remit to Charleston, when it is convenient, though a branch office of the Review will still be kept at New Orleans. The appeal is stronger than ever to every friend of the South to sustain, liberally, the labors of the Review, and enable us to withstand the times.

Two young ladies of Virginia, of accomplished manners, and highly instructed in all the branches of education, including music and latin, are desirous of securing engagements as teachers, in some private family or families at the South. They are well connected and could bring any amount of testimonials. We speak from personal knowledge in saying that a family will regard itself fortunate in securing the services of either. The age of Yankee teachers has, we trust, gone by. It will afford us pleasure to be the medium of communication with these young ladies.

Note the advertisement of the *Nashville Female Academy*, which appears in our columns, and which is one of the best institutions of the kind in the Confederate States.

A similar institution at Marion, Alabama, under charge of Mr. Davis, known as the *Judson Institute*, enjoys a reputation which is very high and has been growing from year to year.